Journal X

Volume 9
Number 1 *Autumn 2004*

Article 7

2004

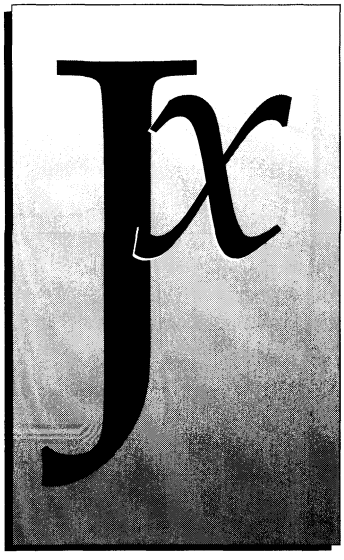
Vol. 9, No. 1 (2004): Full issue

Journal Editors

Editors: Vol. 9, No. 1 (2004): Full issue

a journal in culture & criticism

Journal x • Volume 9 • Number 1
Autumn 2004



Volume 9 • Number 1 • Autumn 2004

CONTENTS

Journal x

A Journal in Culture & Criticism

The editors of *Jx* invite submissions of scholarly and/or reflective essays on topics of interest to scholars working in the fields of English and American literary/cultural studies. Submissions should conform to the *MLA Style Manual*. Send two copies to The Editors, *Journal x*, Department of English, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677. Please include SASE. Submissions received in the months of June and July will be held for consideration in August.

Journal x is published biannually in Fall and Spring by the Department of English of the University of Mississippi. Subscription rates are $8 (individuals) and $24 (institutions). For all subscriptions outside US add $3 per year, remittance to be made by money order or check drawn on a US bank. Write to the Business Manager at the above address. E-mail: kraber@olemiss.edu or atrefzer@olemiss.edu. Fax: 662 915 5787. Changes of address should be reported to the Business Manager.

Journal x is set in Palatino typeface and printed on acid-free paper by the University Publishing Center at the University of Mississippi. The *Jx* logo was designed by Susan Lee.

 ISSN: 0278-310X

Bordering the Subjunctive in Thomas Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon*

Adam Lifshey

Adam Lifshey is Assistant Professor in the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures at SUNY-Albany. He specializes in comparative Latin American and North American literary studies within a global context. He is currently working on a book titled "Specters of America: Hauntings of a Common Continental Literature."

Any attempt to situate border studies at the center of American Studies is bound to transgress. Whether the tropologies in question concern the sundry presences of people of Spanish-speaking heritages within the United States or, conversely, the assorted interventions of the United States in hispanophone regions outside its own geographical limits, any project of positioning borders in the heartland of the American national imaginary necessarily entails re-envisioning what is conventionally deemed as peripheral (a language, a geographic space, a population) as metropolitan. The marginal, in short, is to be (re)viewed as central. Within modern American fiction, this can be done by canonizing any number of texts that challenge the very border-ness of borders, that is, the idea that a periphery is necessarily peripheral. For example, Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* perhaps the most widely read and taught such text, challenges the marginality of the ostensible margin by envisioning the Southwestern border zone as a hybrid, plural and creative space and therefore a central one, contestatory of American culture from any number of borders (gender and economic as well as linguistic and geographic) that are at once productive loci of new culture. Yet for all the borders crossed by Anzaldúa and most other border theorists since, there is one that seems to remain firmly in place: the invisible line in sand and water that geographically separates the United

States from Mexico. However many times crossed in however many ways, that border and its unbordering – its demarginalizing – almost inevitably demarcates any project envisioning the American center from its periphery. And the hegemony of this particular border tends to limit, ironically, the more general potential for borders to be recognized as unbordered. Yet there is another border already at the center of the United States, one so foundational to the national imaginary that it existed before the nation itself did, and it even already has an epic novelist in Thomas Pynchon. Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon* is easily the most ambitious work of border fiction never to be mentioned in border studies, yet its depiction of border writing as an imposition of the metropolitan declarative over the multipolar subjunctive constitutes a valuable contribution to any discussion of how to envision key border discourses at the center of the United States itself.

At first glance, Pynchon seems entirely marginal to any discussion of margins. Known principally as the postmodernist author of *Gravity's Rainbow* and *The Crying of Lot 49*, he is far more likely to be taught alongside a contemporary like Don DeLillo rather than Gloria Anzaldúa. Evaluations of his work tend to emphasize his predilections for wordplay and arcane symbolism, his engagement with the alienated and the esoteric rather than the social and quotidian.[1] His family's ethnic origins seem far removed from the sort of immigrant story or minority experience that gives birth to so many border writers and theorists; indeed, his family has been in America so long that one forebear arrived in New England soon after the Pilgrims, while others appear as the fictionalized protagonists (the Pyncheon family) of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables*. Given this background, it is easy to see why his texts rarely if ever appear in ethnic studies departments or in border studies discussions. And yet *Mason & Dixon* is nothing less than a vast attempt to reimagine all of America through a border and a border zone that lies at its heart. Including Pynchon alongside other novelists and poets of borders can only widen and deepen the space within which those discourses emergent from border studies can redefine American literature and culture. As Russ Castronovo has suggested in an essay in *Border Theory*, an anthology otherwise emphasizing the border zones of the Southwest,

> An inquiry into the cultural history of the Mason-Dixon line, however, can be useful for reframing the critical narratives that describe the outcome of contact in the border zones. The attempt to translate 'border theory' from the Tex-Mex region to the Mason-Dixon fails to produce an easy fit, not simply because of the chronological, cultural, and specific historical discrepancies involved, but because the narrative inherent to a good deal of theorizing about *la frontera* does not adequately tell the story of other historically significant borders.
>
> (197)

Castronovo's article, by situating the Mason-Dixon Line and African American slave narratives as viable topics within the realm of border studies, successfully enlarges the central American ground in which border studies themselves may be seen as taking place. Although Castronovo does not discuss Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon*[2] and offers an argument counter to many common premises of border theorizing,[3] his recognition of the Mason-Dixon line as a border integral to narrative tropes of the United States is an astute one.

Pynchon's novel takes place in a colonial environment about to turn postcolonial: the American Revolution is embryonic and so too a national imaginary. The unlikely witnesses of this gestation are Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who find themselves writing a border narrative upon the nascent country and erasing multiple alternative and contestatory narratives in the process. In Pynchon's reimagination of their enterprise, Mason and Dixon are the Rosencrantz and Guildenstern of the American theater, bit players in a continental drama of Conquest whose vague outlines they barely grasp, if at all. Charged with imposing linearity upon uncharted western spaces, they find a land filled with narrative possibilities that disappear before them even as they engage in their own project of inscription. This writing takes the form of a line of latitude that Mason and Dixon are commissioned to draw due west between the British colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Mason is an astronomer, Dixon a surveyor, and their paired scientific skills allow them to mark with mathematical precision this eerily straight line that begins just south of the throbbing metropolis of Philadelphia – this is in the 1760s, when the future home of the Declaration of Independence was the largest anglophone city in the world after London[4] – and scrolls forth ever westward into the American unmapped. Like all lines of latitude and all borders, the Mason-Dixon Line is written in invisible ink, but that hardly undercuts its powers and presence. Thousands of trees disappear in its path, thousands of indigenous people vanish too as it unfurls: this writing on the earth entails multiple erasures of massive proportions. Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon* thereby recognizes that the foundational mapping of the United States was marked as much by what was being elided as by what was being inscribed, by a border that unwrote plural alternative realities even as it was written itself.

Although in its historical particulars the Mason-Dixon Line was intended only to resolve a boundary dispute between the proprietors of two colonies within the same empire, the division it created came to represent (as it does to this day) the borderline between North and South. This in turn lent it far more symbolic importance than a mere geographic partitioning, for the line in the sand led (as they often do) to opposition – North *and* South transubstantiating into North *versus* South – and all the sharply-viewed (if inherently problematic) binary antitheses that follow: free vs. slave, capitalist vs. feudal, developed vs. underdeveloped, etc.[5] As John H.B. Latrobe declared in 1854, just a few years before the U.S. Civil War,

> There is, perhaps, no line, real or imaginary, on the surface of the earth – not excepting even the equator and the equinoctial – whose name has been oftener in men's mouths during the last fifty years. In the halls of legislation, in the courts of justice, in the assemblages of the people, it has been as familiar as a household word. Not that any particular interest was taken in the line itself; but the mention of it was always expressive of the fact, that the States of the Union were divided into slaveholding and non-slaveholding – into Northern and Southern...Its geographical thus became lost in its political significance; and men cared little, when they referred to it, where it ran, or what was its history – or whether it was limited to Pennsylvania, or extended, as has, perhaps, most generally been supposed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.
>
> (5-7)

The Mason-Dixon Line became an invisible wall between continental neighbors, symbolically looked to as a preserver of cultural difference and yet as a result an artificer thereof. As but one example, when Southern regionalists fought and lost a war in the name of "Dixie," it was Jeremiah Dixon's whose surname was being invoked.[6] Drawn when the national project was but inchoate, the Line came to stand as the border at the center of the nation itself. [7]

In Pynchon's novel,[8] the surveyors are charged with measuring with utmost accuracy a line that, as it unscrolls westward from Philadelphia, gradually leaves behind the urban, creole and immigrant coast, and penetrates into territories increasingly populated by indigenous peoples. The Line, therefore, represents an imperial intrusion, an insertion of artificial writing that implies a narrative of Conquest to be etched upon the West and a concomitant elision of all those narratives that abound ahead in its path. Mason and Dixon[9] take great pains to measure the exact progress of their journey, keeping daily logs such as the one with which they mark the end of their Line:

> Their last ten-minute Arc-Segment, this time out, lands them about two miles short of the Summit of Savage Mountain, beyond which all waters flow West, and legally the Limit of their Commission. They set a Post at 165 Miles, 54 Chains, 88 Links from the Post Mark'd West and, turning, begin to widen the Visto, moving East again, Ax-blows the day long. From the Ridges they can now see their Visto, dividing the green Vapors of Foliage that wrap the Land, undulating Stump-top yellow, lofty American Clouds a-sailing above.
>
> (614-15)

For all the attention given here to the objective coordinates of western travel, the real importance lies not in the numerical data but in the narrative that emerges from it. Mason and Dixon are not mere apolitical

cartographers of America because their very mapping is itself a line of destruction: the trees felled along the parallel divide the continent in half. Mason and Dixon are literally logging their position. And indigenous peoples in the way of the Line are sure to read this border story as a scripting of territorial displacement; as one observant character tells Mason, "clearing and marking a Right Line of an Hundred Leagues, into the Lands of Others, cannot be a kindly Act" (573). Thus the critic David Seed comments, "The novel demonstrates a postcolonial alertness to mapping as a culturally inflected exercise, an exercise in territorial appropriation where the first casualties to be displaced are the native Americans" (98). And Arthur Saltzman writes, "Drawing out the Mason-Dixon Line . . . serves a policy of aesthetic coercion, of domestication by geometry. Thus map-making is another imperialistic transgression" (65). In Pynchon's epic, Mason and Dixon are hardly conquistadors in a traditional sense, as they themselves have no interest in colonization per se and Dixon, a thoughtful Quaker, is particularly aware of the moral implications of their work as demarcators. Yet they are caught up in advancing the imperial process all the same through their superimposition of one linear narrative over many possible others.

Pynchon's key concept in this regard is a tension between declarative and subjunctive Americas, that is, between Mason and Dixon's inscription of a rationalizing, Western European narrative of the continent on one hand and the concomitant erasure of multiple hypothetical and unmapped Americas on the other. Rather than the border zone of the Line constituting a fertile mestizaje and multiplicity of discourses that challenge a nationalizing and consolidating project, the border comes into being precisely in order to flatten and align such fecund plurality. Thus Pynchon writes,

> Does Britannia, when she sleeps, dream? Is America her dream? – in which all that cannot pass in the metropolitan Wakefulness is allow'd Expression away in the restless Slumber of these Provinces, and on West-ward, wherever 'tis not yet mapp'd, nor written down, nor ever, by the majority of Mankind, seen, – serving as a very Rubbish-Tip for subjunctive Hopes, for all that *may yet be true*, – Earthly Paradise, Fountain of Youth, Realms of Prester John, Christ's Kingdom, ever behind the sunset, safe till the next Territory to the West be seen and recorded, measur'd and tied in, back into the Net-Work of Points already known, that slowly triangulates its Way into the Continent, changing all from subjunctive to declarative, reducing Possibilities to Simplicities that serve the ends of Governments, – winning away from the realm of the Sacred, its Borderlands one by one, and assuming them unto the bare mortal World that is our home, and our Despair.
>
> (345)

This passage is pregnant with twinnings of a foreboding nature. Mason and Dixon are the declarative midwives sent by Britannia, the empire, to assist the birth of a brave new colonial world; and yet this creation comes only at the death of all that America whose unknown coordinates they are marking over. Every measurement they take writes the colonies further into the empire, the uninscribed periphery into the text of the metropole, eliding all alternative continental narratives beneath the indicative indications of their measuring instruments and the foreign hegemon that funds them. Subjunctive America, the antithesis of declarative imperialism, is that unmapped and atemporal space where alternative possibilities yet abound, where plural local realities exist side by side, a culturally creative place that is distinct from, and therefore resistant to, the imperial cartography imposed upon the New World. As Brian McHale notes, Pynchon posits "the American West as subjunctive space, the space of wish and desire, of the hypothetical and the counterfactual, of speculation and possibility" (44). The cartographic colonialism inherent to all border drawings and to the Mason-Dixon Line in particular is designed to suppress all contestatory narratives of America, both those that already exist and those that hypothetically could come into being.

Furthermore, Pynchon clearly stresses that this dialectic of the declarative versus the subjunctive represents no parochial tension within the British empire but rather the history of the entire American continent itself, including what became its Spanish-speaking parts and ultimately the source of Latinidad in the United States. After all, it was Christopher Columbus, not Mason, who thought he might have found the "Earthly Paradise" in the New World; and it was Juan Ponce de León, not Dixon, who sought the "Fountain of Youth." These are not the dreamscapes of only the future United States but of a subjunctive transAmerica in a continental or even hemispheric sense. The dialectic of border inscription and elision is pan-American, not restricted to Britannia's thirteen southeastern mainland colonies.[10] Underlining this point, non-British imperial presences pervade Pynchon's novel, from French armies near the Great Lakes to irredentist Swedes in the mid-Atlantic region, Spanish privateers in Delaware, and Spanish Jesuits in Quebec. Indeed, Spanish colonial influence repeatedly surfaces, particularly via the frequent (and sinister) Jesuit presence, but also in such notable passages as when the Mason-Dixon party chooses Castilian as the language for "The Anthem of the Expedition, as it moves into the Unknown" (477). That a Spanish song should be sung by British imperialists in Pennsylvania is not surprising, for the New World is effectively a single theater, its particular national players but usurpers determined to impose declarative borders upon the same subjunctive land. That their anthems borrow from each other makes sense: so do their respective wills to hegemony. For Pynchon, the juxtaposition of Spanish and English in border zones takes places not only in Southwestern narratives of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries but along the Mason-Dixon Line of the eighteenth century as well.

Elsewhere in the novel, Pynchon repeatedly makes it clear that the elision of the continental subjunctive by the imperial declarative is not

the unique foundational crime of the United States but of the New World as a whole. As but one example, Zhang, a feng shui geomancer, rails against "the inscription upon the Earth of these enormously long straight Lines" (546) and notes that the Mason-Dixon Line

> acts as a conduit for what we call *Sha*, or, as they say in Spanish California, Bad Energy . . . Ev'rywhere else on earth, Boundaries follow Nature, – coast-lines, ridge-tops, river-banks, – so honoring the Dragon or *Shan* within, from which Land-Scape ever takes its form. To mark a right Line upon the Earth is to inflict upon the Dragon's very Flesh, a sword-slash, a long, perfect scar, impossible for any who live out here the year 'round to see as other than hateful Assault.
>
> (542)

Zhang links here the "hateful Assault" of the Line to his previous knowledge of Spanish imperialism in America, even though the vast spaces separating "Spanish California" from Pennsylvania were unknown and perhaps inconceivable in the 1760s: like the Mason-Dixon party singing in Castilian as they move westward, Zhang recognizes that the distinctions between the far-flung periphery of one European empire and another pale before the common attempt to narrate the New World with border writing.[11] As a feng shui expert, Zhang wants humans to coexist harmoniously and naturally with geography, whereas this is exactly what the Line and its doppelgangers in Spanish California are meant not to do. As a result, Zhang sees the Line as metonymic not to a squabble between two small British colonies but to the far greater affront that is rendering a plural America singular.

This is what Columbus did three centuries earlier; it is what all conquistadors do too. All are inscribers of parallels that are parallel foundational crimes: all superinscribe the linear declarative over the multipolar subjunctive. All are cartographers not of blank spaces but elided ones. Another Pynchon character speaks of "a great current of Westering. You will hear of gold cities, marble cities, men that fly, women that fight, fantastickal creatures never dream'd in Europe, – something always to take and draw you that way"[12] (671). But beyond the fantasies of New World conquistadors, in what does subjunctive America consist? In *Mason & Dixon*, it is not one narrative or narratological element but many, all extraordinarily varied and some even opposed to each other, and yet all share the same thing: all contest the idea of a single hegemonic reality imposed from without, i.e., that which Mason and Dixon synecdochically represent: the Conquest of the New World itself. Subjunctive America is filled with plural realities and unrealities; it is the very unresolvability of this plurality that makes it subjunctive in the first place. Among the novel's cast of surreal characters are talking dogs, talking clocks, and an invisible time-traveling talking mechanical duck; there are also Brobdignagian-sized vegetables, an enormous runaway cheese, a legendary golem, and an extraordinary array of ghosts,

real and imagined. Not all of these figures surface in the American section of Mason and Dixon's journeys, but those that do are as believable and as valorized as those that appear in Britain or at sea. In Mason and Dixon's America, as in their experiences elsewhere, the magic realism and phantasmal visions that populate so much Latin American and Latino literature emerge time and again. There is even an imaginary trip westward by a Mason and Dixon who find they cannot stop at the end of the Line but must go on ever writing it westward, unto infinity.

Indeed, time and space are consistently out of joint in the novel, as Pynchon celebrates their every resistance to linearity – that same imperial linearity represented by the border inscriptions of Mason and Dixon. Regarding time, as but one instance, the vanished eleven days of September 1752 are a frequent topic; this is when Britain, in order to change from a Julian to a Gregorian calendar, declared by government fiat that the day after September 2 would be September 14.[13] Mason himself claims that he lived through that nonexistent week and a half in an ectoplasmic Britain populated by "certain Beings invisible" (560). The ghostly temporality of those atextualized days is matched by the phantasmal spatiality of the Delaware Wedge, a tiny region of the mid-Atlantic colonies whose boundaries were inherently imprecise due to the conflicting royal charters that governed the surveying of Mason and Dixon. There in the Wedge, "strange lights appear at Night, figures not quite human emerge from and disappear into it, and in the Daytime, Farm animals who stray too close, vanish and do not re-emerge . . . To be born and rear'd in the Wedge is to occupy a singular location in an emerging moral Geometry" (323). Amid such unjointed spatiality, it makes perfect sense that a member of Mason and Dixon's party decides to eat in the Wedge an uncanny watch that never has to be wound: in subjunctive America, the fantastic and the hypothetical are at home in any temporality and spatiality that resists the teleological linearity of imperial narration. This malleability of time and space recalls any number of scenes in modern Latin American texts like García Márquez's *Cien Años de Soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*).[14]

The surreal and the imaginary, however, are only subcategories of the subjunctive. Unenclosed possibility itself – ontological alterity – is the profound constituent of the America that Mason and Dixon are declaratively overwriting. Indigenous peoples, therefore, form part of subjunctive America just as much as any time-traveling duck or impossible geographic anomaly, not because they are equally fantastic but because they too represent an alterity faced with elision by linear European superinscription. In their case, of course, the process of "changing all from subjunctive to declarative" (345) represented by Mason and Dixon is particularly egregious because the alterity being erased is not a dreamscape or ghost or mythical beast but human beings of flesh and blood. Mason and Dixon first encounter this conflict directly when news reaches them in a Philadelphia coffee-house of a massacre of unarmed indigenes by the Paxton Boys, a motley group of frontiersmen:

> "At Lancaster, – day before yesterday, – the Indians that were taking refuge in the Gaol there, were massacr'd ev'ry one, by local Irregulars, – the same Band that slew the other Indians at Conestoga, but week before last."
>
> "So finishing what they'd begun," contributes an Apron'd Mechanick nearby. "Now the entire Tribe is gone, the lot."
>
> "Were there no Soldiers to prevent it?" Dixon asks.
>
> "Colonel Robertson and his Regiment of Highlanders refus'd to stir, toasting their Noses whilst that brave Paxton Vermin murder'd old people, small children, and defenseless Drunkards."
>
> (304)

As news of the extermination of "the entire Tribe" in Lancaster sinks in, "Mason and Dixon look at each other bleakly. 'Well. If I'd known 'twould be like *this* in America . . .'" (306). They are allegedly in the New World as apolitical men of science, hired measurers and little more, and yet it slowly begins to dawn on them that they are participating in the same westward expansion that just has produced the genocidal Paxton Boys. They have not yet begun to write their Line and yet erasures already have taken place near its projected script. Literally and figuratively, alternative narratives and narrators of America have been rubbed out.

The moral implications of their role in this drama gradually come to haunt the border writers. As if to face the ghosts of the exterminated indigenes, Mason and Dixon travel to Lancaster to visit the site of the massacre. Suspected by locals after asking too many questions, they disguise their moral concerns in the language of the Enlightenment. "'We're men of Science,'" Dixon explains, "'– this being a neoclassickal Instance of the Catastrophick Resolution of Inter-Populational Cross-Purposes, of course we're curious to see where it all happen'd'" (343). This is a purposeful feint by Dixon, for he knows that he cannot pose his questions in terms of ethics, as that runs the risk of delegitimizing the presence of the frontiersmen he is facing and indirectly his own presence in America as well. He uses European scientific discourse here to cloak his moral concerns, an ironic manipulation given that he gradually realizes that is his very science that is being used in the service of genocide. He knows something is out of joint here, that a foundational crime has been committed in Lancaster that can be extrapolated to the whole of the continent, and so upon visiting the site of the butchery he silently prays for the dead indigenes:

> Nothing he brought to it of his nearest comparison, Raby with its thatch'd and benevolent romance of serfdom, had at all prepar'd him for the iron Criminality of the Cape . . . Yet is Dixon certain . . . that far worse happen'd here, to these poor People, as the blood flew and the Children cried, – that at the end no one

> understood what they said as they died. "I don't pray enough," Dixon subvocalizes, "and I can't get upon my Knees just now because too many are watching, – yet could I kneel, and would I pray, 'twould be to ask, respectfully, that this be made right, that the Murderers meet appropriate Fates, that I be spar'd the awkwardness of seeking them out myself and slaying as many as I may, before they overwhelm me. Much better if that be handl'd some other way, by someone a bit more credible. . . . " He feels no better for this Out-pouring.
>
> (347)

Dixon realizes there is a wrong to be set right here and yet he suspects that he himself is not "credible" enough to play that role. Somehow, he vaguely understands, he is part of the same imperial narrative as the Paxton Boys, that somehow he too is complicit in this massacre that horrifies him. Contemplation of the slaughter thus quickly metamorphoses into contemplation of America, as he wonders aghast, "What in the Holy Names are these people about?" (347) The continent he is charged with delineating has represented itself to him as a border story so brutal that he can scarcely believe it. It is not a coincidence that the central passage of *Mason & Dixon*'s nearly 800 pages of text – the aforementioned paragraph that opens "Does Britannia, when she sleep, dream? Is America her dream?" and speaks of the Earthly Paradise and "changing all from subjunctive to declarative" – lies at the heart of the Lancaster chapter. Immediately prior to that passage, Mason and Dixon arrive in Lancaster to inquire about the massacre; immediately after it, they visit the site of the killing and wonder what it means. The border they are writing at the center of America is not a space of plural, hybrid, creative and transgressive discourses but rather a foundational erasure of all thereof: the nation is being born in a border zone conceived in linearity and dedicated to the proposition that not all narrators are created equal.

Somewhere beyond Mason and Dixon's border, then, reside the plural contestations of cultural hegemony that writers like Gloria Anzaldúa locate in the border zone itself. These distinct but complementary depictions of the lines that divide America are well worth juxtaposing, for in doing so studies of borders and of margins in general can be perceived more transparently as at the very center of the American national imaginary: borders need not be on the border. Making visible the presence of a major American writer like Pynchon within border studies can only deepen and enrich the field as such. Why not, after all, read *Mason & Dixon* alongside border-crossing texts and rewritings as seemingly disparate as, for instance, Tomás Rivera's . . . *Y no se lo tragó la tierra* or Ana Castillo's *The Mixquiahuala Letters*? Doing so could only unveil the diverse richnesses of border zone discourses, illuminating them mutually and further unbordering border studies themselves by opening more spaces wherein Latino texts and authors can be seen as

viable interlocutors with their canonized American peers. The form of the field then would follow neatly what may be its principal function, the celebrating of the very multiplicity of possibility (i.e., subjunctivity) that border writers and theorists consistently demonstrate and vindicate. Such juxtapositions would force critical reevaluations of any number of premises about the nexus of border studies and the American national imaginary and open the way for further creative pairings. Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera,* for example, could be read alongside border texts such as *The Ghost of Tom Joad,* a folk music album by an archetypal American artist whose roots are not too far from the Mason-Dixon Line: the profoundly unacademic and entirely relevant Bruce Springsteen.

Recognizing border writing as not only the province of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo but of the American center is like acknowledging the presence of the subjunctive – a verb tense of the hypothetical and alternative – in the English language itself. Though mostly identified in American language classrooms with Spanish, the subjunctive does indeed persist both in English and in those lands where that language currently dominates. Pynchon's *Mason & Dixon* shows how the act of writing a border is an attempt to convert a subjunctive continent into a declarative one, but the plural resistances of the subjunctive may still be hoped for and celebrated and, indeed, made visible at the very center of America. Diverse narrative possibilities and the concomitant contestation of linearity is a principal legacy of both the subjunctive and border studies, and like all legacies they gain force to the extent they are recognized as such.

Notes

1. At the moment, there remains very little published criticism on *Mason & Dixon.* This is partly due to its relatively recent publication date (1997) and probably also in large part to its striking divergence in style from Pynchon's previous work: many of the numerous scholars who have long praised Pynchon as a postmodernist *par excellence,* a view founded on texts like *Gravity's Rainbow,* are less likely to be attracted to the historical and figurative engagements of *Mason & Dixon.* In contrast, the humanistic leanings of the novel are highlighted by Mark Knopfler, a commentator well outside the academy in his customary role as lead singer, songwriter and guitarist for the rock group Dire Straits. The title track of Knopfler's 2000 solo album *Sailing to Philadelphia* is a reimagination of the transatlantic journey of Pynchon's Mason and Dixon as they near the shores of America. The song is a duet in which Knopfler adopts the optimistic voice of Dixon and folk singer James Taylor that of melancholy Mason as they envision their role in the drawing of the Line that lies ahead. Whereas Taylor's Mason muses "The West will kill us both . . ./You talk of liberty/How can America be free," Knopfler's Dixon responds, "Now hold your head up, Mason/See America lies

there.../Another day will make it clear/Why your stars should guide us here" (liner notes).
2. The article appeared the same year as the novel.
3. Castronovo suggests that "'Border theory,' and the narratives of resistance and subversion that it supplies, does not travel well; it too readily formulates a perspective that overlooks the force and appeal of the nation-state...the Mason-Dixon line...provides a site for examining the pitfalls of racial ideology and the cul-de-sacs of inescapable nationalism predatorily inherent to borders" (197-98).
4. For a brief description of Philadelphia's modernity in this era, see Pynchon's "Nearer, My Couch, To Thee," *The New York Times Book Review*, 6 June 1993 : 3.
5. This opposition of North and South need not be conceived as stopping at the cartographic lines that separate the United States and Latin America. For instance, Gabriel García Márquez says that William Faulkner stands among his strongest North American influences for reasons "más geográficas que literarias. Las descubrí mucho después de haber escrito mis primeras novelas, viajando por el sur de los Estados Unidos. Los pueblos ardientes y llenos de polvo, las gentes sin esperanza que encontré en aquel viaje se parecían mucho a los que yo evocaba en mis cuentos" (50). ("more geographic than literary. I discovered them long after having written my first novels, traveling through the South of the United States. The burning towns filled with dust, the people without hope whom I met on that voyage, seemed very akin to those whom I evoked in my short stories.") Similarly, it is often observed that the southern United States shares with Latin America a history of plantations, slavery, underdevelopment and, especially, traumatic defeat at the hands of the same industrialized northerners. Viewed as such, the Mason-Dixon Line can be read in lieu of the Río Bravo/Rio Grande as the more compelling symbolic border between North and South in the New World.
6. Dixie is "a name for the Southern States of the United States; of uncertain origin, first recorded in American English in 1859 in the folk song *Dixie's Land* by Daniel Decatur Emmett...three sources of the name have been advanced: 1) that *Dixie* is a modification of Dixon abstracted from *Mason and Dixon's line* (1779, the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, surveyed 1763-67 by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon; the line was regarded as separating the slave states from the free states.)" (292) *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*, Ed. Robert K. Barnhart (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1988). The first usage therefore came on the eve of the U.S. Civil War (1861-65), the paramount showdown between North and South in the country.
7. It is worth keeping in mind that at the time of the surveying of the Mason-Dixon Line, the geographic contours of the future United States were unknown and unknowable. Whole swaths of what would become the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas were part of the Spanish empire, for example. In the 1760s, the thirteen British colonies

from Massachusetts to Georgia were but a sliver of the geographic entity that is the modern United States Yet the Line proved always available to a continent and to continental visions long before they themselves were conceived, which is to suggest that regions of the Southwest were bordered by it even before they came into existence as states. For example, when Texas and California joined the Union many decades later, they did so on either side of a North-South division that ultimately led to the U.S. Civil War and which was symbolized, as Latrobe suggests above, by the Mason-Dixon Line, still a potent symbol for the entire nation (and arguably for the whole continent) quite despite its ending no further west than Pennsylvania.

8. In his 1854 address on the history of the Line, Latrobe accurately predicts that one day an epic national novel will arise from the details of the border creation: "The temptation is strong to fill up the meagre outline here given of the boundary controversy, between Pennsylvania and Maryland, with some details of the border life of the period in question. But time does not permit. The prose and poetry of Scott have made the borders of Scotland immortal. The same great novelist would have found in the feuds of the Peninsula, and along the northern confines of Maryland, as ample materials for his genius to combine, as much diversity of character and as thrilling incident, as magnificent scenery, and as wild adventure, as were furnished him by the history of his native land" (28). He adds in the following paragraph, "These are themes for the future novelist, however, rather than the historian" (30).

9. References to Mason and Dixon herein refer to the characters in Pynchon's novel and not the historical personages. For information on the historical Mason and Dixon, see *The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon*, Ed. A. Hughlett Mason (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1969); Hubertis M. Cummings, *The Mason and Dixon Line: Story for a Bicentenary 1763-1963* (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1962); and Edwin Danson, *Drawing the Line: How Mason and Dixon Surveyed the Most Famous Border in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2001).

10. The British empire had other seaboard colonies in North America that chose not to revolt in 1776; these later coalesced to become Canada.

11. Pynchon's reference to Californian concepts of "Bad Energy" also may be read as a lighthearted reference to the popularity of New Age ideas on the West Coast.

12. Columbus too hears of golden marvels, noting in his diary, for example, "una isla . . . adonde . . . la gente de ella coge el oro con candelas de noche en la playa," (57) ("an island . . .where . . .its people gather gold with candles by night on the beach") heard on November 12, 1492; and "había isla que era todo oro" (96), ("there was an island that was all gold") noted on December 17, 1492. Regarding "women that fight," Columbus hears of "una isla adonde no había sino solas mujeres" (122) ("an island where there were only women") on January 6, 1493, and again on January 16, 1493 (131-32); presumably he supposes these

women to be the legendary Amazons. In terms of "fantastickal creatures never dream'd in Europe," Columbus hears, for example, "que lejos de allí había hombres de un ojo y otros con hocicos de perros que comían los hombres" (54) ("that far from there there were men with one eye and others with dog snouts who ate men") on November 4, 1492. All these things always lie just around the next bend – "something always to take and draw you that way" – in that "great current of Westering" of which the Pynchon character speaks. Historically, these images all arise out of medieval narrations of what lay beyond known borders, e.g., the writings of Marco Polo and others.

13. The original Gregorian reform took place in 1582 and, according to Stephen Jay Gould, "The truly improved Gregorian calendar was quickly accepted throughout the Roman Catholic world. But in England, the whole brouhaha sounded like a Popish plot, and the Brits would be damned if they would go along. Thus, England kept the Julian calendar until 1752, when they finally succumbed to reason and practicality – by which time yet another 'extra' day had accumulated in the Julian reckoning, so Parliament had to drop eleven days (September 3-13, 1752) in order to institute the belated Gregorian reform." (175)

14. Perhaps not coincidentally, Pynchon is one of the few major United States novelists who reads his Latin American contemporaries in Spanish. He implies as much in "The Heart's Eternal Vow" (342), his review of García Márquez's *Love in the Time of Cholera*. Pynchon's other contacts with Latin America include his living in Mexico while writing much of his novel *V.* and his close friendship with Richard Fariña, a writer of Cuban-American heritage who was his undergraduate roommate at Cornell University. Fariña's self-associations with a Cuban and Cuban-American identity, however, were sporadic and apparently embellished; for more on this topic and on Fariña's relationship with Pynchon, see David Hajdu's *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Baez Fariña and Richard Fariña.*

Works Cited

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Book Company, 1987.

Castronovo, Russ. "Compromised Narratives along the Border: The Mason-Dixon Line, Resistance, and Hegemony." *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*. Ed. Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1997 : 195-220.

[Columbus, Christopher] Colón, Cristóbal. *Los cuatro viajes del Almirante y su testamento*. Mexico City: Espasa-Calpe, 1946.

García Márquez, Gabriel. *Conversaciones con Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza: el olor de la guayaba*. Bogotá: Editorial la Oveja Negra, 1982.

Gould, Stephen Jay. *Questioning the Millennium: A Rationalist's Guide to a Precisely Arbitrary Countdown*. Revised ed. New York: Harmony Books, 1999.

Hajdu, David. *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Baez Fariña and Richard Fariña*. New York: North Point, 2001.

Knopfler, Mark. "Sailing to Philadelphia." *Sailing to Philadelphia*. Straitjacket Songs, 2000.

Latrobe, John H.B. "The History of Mason and Dixon's Line; Contained in an Address." Oakland, DE: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1882.

McHale, Brian. "Mason & Dixon in the Zone, or, A Brief Poetics of Pynchon-Space." *Pynchon and* Mason & Dixon. Ed. Brooke Horvath and Irving Malin. Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 2000 : 43-62.

Pynchon, Thomas. "The Heart's Eternal Vow." *The New York Times Book Review*. 10 April, 1988. 7:1.

—. *Mason & Dixon*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997.

—. "Nearer My Couch, To Thee." *New York Times Book Review*. 6 June 1993: 3.

Saltzman, Arthur. "'Cranks of Ev'ry Radius': Romancing the Line in *Mason & Dixon*." *Pynchon and* Mason & Dixon. Ed. Brooke Horvath and Irving Malin. Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 2000: 63-72.

Seed, David. "Mapping the Course of Empire in the New World." *Pynchon and* Mason & Dixon. Ed. Brooke Horvath and Irving Malin. Newark, DE: U of Delaware P, 2000 : 84-99.

The Novelist and the Critics: Frances Burney's Manuscript Corrections and Additions to *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*

Robert L. Mack

Robert L. Mack is currently a Lecturer at the University of Exeter, in Devon. His biography Thomas Gray: A Life *was published by Yale University Press in 2000. He has written on the work of Frances Burney, Oliver Goldsmith, Ben Jonson, Horace Walpole, and edited the Arabian Nights' Entertainments and a collection of* Oriental Tales *for Oxford's World's Classics series. He is currently completing a book on literary parody in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a study of the urban myths and legends surrounding the figure of "Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street."*

Frances Burney's fourth and final novel, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties*, was first published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown on 28 March 1814.[1] The unique, interleaved copy of *The Wanderer* currently held in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library reveals a fascinating and hitherto largely unexamined picture of Burney at work as the editor of her own work. Each of the novel's five, unbound volumes has been drawn together into blue paper wrappers; each contains manuscript, holograph corrections and additions, in pencil, unquestionably written in the hand of the author. Burney's remarks — which have never been included in any edition of the novel — offer a clear indication of the many changes that she intended eventually to undertake for an anticipated "corrected & revised Copy" of *The Wanderer*. Burney's comments not only shed valuable light on the manner in which the novelist planned to proceed (soon after publication) with any revisions to the work, but also offer readers what amounts to a glimpse of the author herself — in a comparatively candid moment — assimilating and passing judgement on the legitimacy of the critical commentary that had greeted *The Wanderer* in the contemporary journals and reviews. My purpose in these pages is not fully to describe Burney's markings, but rather to offer some representative examples of their commentary and, in so doing, to anticipate the general characteris-

tics of any changes, additions, and omissions that Burney might have effected in subsequent editions of the novel. As we shall see, a comprehensive overview of the novelist's intentions with regard to the published text of *The Wanderer* offers a valuable corrective to a long-standing critical tradition that has tended to depict Burney as an editor and reviser who suffered largely and rather willingly at the mercy of her harshest professional critics.[2]

I.

The extended composition of *The Wanderer* was a process that had been, as Margaret Anne Doody put it in her 1988 biography of the author, a task "fraught with difficulty, excitement, and even danger" (Doody 316). A radical mastectomy performed without the benefit of an anaesthetic (an inconceivably painful operation judging from Burney's own account of the surgery included in a letter to her sister Esther) interrupted work on the novel for several months in the autumn of 1811. (*JL*, vi.596-615).[3] Throughout the first year following her return to England, the author worked diligently and with renewed vigour on the novel. She attempted whenever possible to devote the entire morning ("toute la matinée") to her writing (*JL*, vii.27). A draft of *The Wanderer* was finished by 21 August 1813 — just over one year from Burney's return from France. Burney busily revised the manuscript in the months that followed, aiming for a judiciously well-timed publication the following spring. She was on this occasion particularly anxious that her new novel be as much a popular as a critical success. Thanks largely to the instability precipitated by recent events in France (and, more particularly, to her husband's status as a French military officer whose wholehearted loyalty to the Napoleonic regime had already, because of his marriage to an Englishwomen, become a matter of some dispute), Burney was never allowed to forget that the financial security of her family was very much her own particular responsibility. The final draft of *The Wanderer* manuscript was sent to the publishers in mid-October 8 (*JL*, vii. 190, n. 1). Although Burney confessed herself exhausted by the task of the final revision and the tedious copying of "illegibilities" ("for tired I am of my Pen! Oh tired! tired!"), she was obviously glad to deliver "the Work" into the hands of the publishers (*JL*, vii. 163).[4] She appears generally, at the time, to have been pleased with the finished product.[5]

By all accounts, the new Burney novel was eagerly awaited by the reading public ("I would almost fall sick . . .," Byron wrote with some sincerity to John Murray of the book's imminent publication, "to get at Mme D'Arblay's writings"), and the initial response to *The Wanderer* was encouraging (Byron iii. 204). The first edition of *The Wanderer* — an impressive 3,000 copies — sold out two or three days before its publication date. Burney was overjoyed to learn of such advance sales. With reason, she anticipated in *The Wanderer* both the popular and the financial success to which she had looked forward. "They have already

ordered for 800 more! —," she wrote excitedly to her brother Charles on 2 April, "Astonishing! incredible! impossible!" (*JL*, vii. 269). "The publishers," she continued in the same letter, "have sent to beg me to prepare my 2d Edition! . . . They entreat me to forbear seeing Revizes, of proofs: not to check the sail [sic]."

Such enthusiasm was unfortunately destined to be short-lived. Even as Burney's publishers prepared a second edition for the press, over half of the 800 advance orders for the novel were cancelled. The emended second "edition" (which in actual fact effected only the most essential of emendations in the text) was published by Longman on 15 April, but by mid year barely half the imprint had been sold. In the months that followed, Burney herself was confused regarding the printing schedule and the status of the publication. A letter written to her husband on 29 April finds her supposing that "The 3d Edition is already printed & in sale" (*JL*, vii. 327). Three years later she would write similarly to Longman, questioning whether she might possibly have misunderstood his associate, Andrew Strahan, when he seemed to have told her that a fifth edition had been prepared for the press (*JL*, vii. 327 n.13).

The situation of *The Wanderer* was, in truth, far more dismal than the author supposed. Following the initial, respectable performance of the second edition in the spring and early summer of 1814, sales of the novel had practically ground to a complete halt. In 1824, ten years after publication, a remaining 465 copies of that same second edition were deemed "waste" and were consequently destroyed by the publishers. Foreign editions of *The Wanderer* fared little better. A single American edition, published in New York in 1814, achieved only a modest circulation. A French translation, *La Femme Errante, ou les embarras d'une femme* (the accomplishment of which Burney herself described as "abominable") was also published in Paris in 1815 (*JL*, vii. 228, n.7). Both editions remain volumes of considerable rarity. Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* was to remain out of print — and largely unread — until the final decades of the twentieth century.

II.

How did it come to pass, then, that a novel written by one of the eighteenth century's most popular authors, and a work that had been so long and so eagerly awaited by the most discriminating members of the British reading public, should, when it was finally published, fare so poorly? Recent Burney scholars have addressed the question with some vigour. Insofar as *The Wanderer* was an historical novel that dealt openly and unflinchingly with the "stupendous inequity and cruelty" that had characterized events of the comparatively recent past in France — insofar as it was an historical novel that sought, moreover, to draw certain unflattering parallels between conditions on "that side" of the Channel and the social and political climate in England itself — the work may at the very least have been perceived by Burney's readers to

have been an unprecedented and even startling departure from the subject matter of her earlier novels (*The Wanderer*, 6). Rather than detailing, as in the early *Evelina*, the comic saga of one young girl's entrance into polite society, or even, as in Burney's second novel, *Cecilia*, pursuing the decidedly darker tale of another young heiress's attempt to secure her solitary place in a metropolitan culture too often characterized by hypocrisy and frequently violent deceit, *The Wanderer* offered its readers a far more sweeping and comprehensive indictment of the *mores* of contemporary English society. *The Wanderer* is the novel in which, as Doody has argued, Burney dealt most consistently with "public and national" — rather than strictly private and personal — issues (Doody, 318).

Moreover, Burney's latest novel was generically diverse and inclusive in a manner that may have baffled some of its earliest readers. "The novel is in some sense 'haunted' by the Gothic novel and its forms and formulae as curious instruments with which to observe repression" (Doody, "Introduction," *The Wanderer*, xiv). An account of recent continental history and experience, *The Wanderer* is also in many respects a novel of suspense. Like any good mystery story, it looks to grasp its reader by the jugular vein in its spectacular opening moments, and then to keep that reader turning the pages until the riddles, paradoxes, and obscurities advanced in its murky and quite literally foggy opening scene have been made clear. "The unusual structure of *The Wanderer*," as Doody, again, has commented, "means that the reader must participate in mystery, must consent to be mystified . . . *The Wanderer* is literally a spy story" (Doody, "Introduction," *The Wanderer*, xiv-xv). The true history of the narrative's heroine, Juliet Granville, is not fully revealed until the novel's fifth and final volume; indeed, so deliberately vague is her identity that we do not even learn so much as her proper name until volume three. *The Wanderer* likewise presents elements of tragedy and comedy in a manner that yields something rather different than what is generally perceived to constitute the more traditional or generally-received "tragi-comic" mode. Burney's novel does not so much blend the elements of tragedy and comedy, as it does present them as being united only in a paratactic manner. Episodes of broad social satire are set against and so highlight scenes of intense emotional anguish and deep sentiment. The dynamics of the text mimics the radical uncertainty and unpredictability of our lived and constantly unfolding human experience; the effect is designedly unbalancing and disconcerting.

This having been said, the story of the novel's heroine, Juliet Granville, would still in many other respects appear to be a reasonably straightforward one. A refugee from the "dire reign" of Maximilien de Robespierre in France, Juliet is first glimpsed making her dangerous escape across the English Channel in a small packet boat that eventually lands at Dover (11). The year is 1793. The heroine, who is known (thanks to a nice bit of auditory confusion) both to the other characters in the novel and to readers throughout much of the work only by the enigmatic appellation "Ellis," is by chance accompanied on the vessel in

her flight from Robespierre's agents by a handful of other English men and women who are likewise fleeing the persecution of the Terror and its machinery. Burney thus economically immediately introduces the reader to many of the novel's central characters: the imperious Mrs. Maple, the querulous Mrs. Ireton and her self-absorbed son, and the "Cynical" Mr. Riley. Foremost among the passengers in the packet boat, however, are the young Albert Harleigh and the woman who was to have been his sister-in-law, the fiery Elinor Jodrell. We see that one of the incidental effects of revolutionary political turmoil in France would appear to have been to open Elinor's eyes to the cowardly conformity that a loveless marriage to Harleigh's brother Dennis, a lawyer, would have entailed, and subsequently to alert her to the more genuine nature of her increasingly volatile romantic attachment to Harleigh himself. "The grand effect," Elinor proclaims, ". . . of beholding so many millions of men, let loose from all ties, divine or human, gave such play to my fancy, such a range to my thoughts, and brought forth such new, unexpected, and untried combinations to my reason, that I frequently felt as if just created, and ushered into the world. . . ." (156). Elinor throughout the novel gives voice to the unconventional — to the powerful, passionate, and at times over-powering and often destructive rhetoric of the French Revolution itself. Easily among the most vibrant characters in the novel, Elinor Jodrell is in many respects a proto-feminist, a disciple and student of late-century English reformists and "radicals" such as Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft. Her portrait — one that in the hands of any other novelist might very well have dwindled into a predictable anti-Jacobin caricature — is given a force of sensibility and, at critical points in the narrative, an intellectual certitude that together rival and even threaten to overwhelm the not inconsiderable depth of character granted to the novel's nominal heroine herself. Although Juliet's firm and discreet rectitude might seem at first to embody the decorous antithesis of Elinor's out-spoken passion, the two are to some degree merely opposite sides of the same coin. Both Juliet and Elinor encounter in England only prejudice, betrayal, and hypocrisy in their several attempts to overcome the "female difficulties" anticipated in the novel's sub-title.

Before the long-awaited anagnorisis that reveals the female wanderer's true status and situation to the reader, Juliet's various positions as a paid companion, a would-be governess, a public performer, a hired instructor, and a milliner suggest that there are few occupations in which a woman might engage without being exposed to the most callous and brutal treatment afforded by a society that has little use for — and a great deal of hostility towards — women seeking to make their own way in the world. Only in the final volume of Burney's novel do we learn the true nature of Juliet's situation — only then can we comprehend and so appreciate the fatal imperatives that have compelled her to conceal her true identity even from those few, generous individuals who would appear actively to assist her in her wanderings. Juliet,

though born in England and the legitimate daughter of Lord Granville (the product of that Lord's first and clandestine marriage to the respectable Miss Powel), had subsequently been raised in France, under the care of Lord Granville's friends, identified throughout the novel only as the Marchioness of *** and her brother, the Bishop of ***; while in France she formed her close, sisterly attachment to the Marchioness's daughter, Gabriella. Lord Granville, variously protesting that "he could not support the fruitless pain of offending his sickly . . . father" (644) by acknowledging the true nature of his first attachment to Miss Powel (who died soon after giving birth to Juliet), or that the secret of his daughter's birth would remain concealed only "till his child should be grown up, or till he became his own master" (642), subsequently formed an alliance with a sister of the imperious Lord Denmeath, by whom he produced two acknowledged heirs: Lord Melbury and Lady Aurora Granville. Following Lord Granville's sudden death, the Bishop pressed Juliet's claims to recognition with Lord Denmeath, who now stood as the guardian of Grenville's two legitimate children. The Bishop's attempts to sustain "the birth-right of the innocent orphan" (645) in the face of Lord Denmeath's scepticism, however, prove fruitless. The violent "excesses" of the second phase of the revolution in France have also only just begun to reach their height when Juliet and the Bishop attempt to travel to England to secure some formal acknowledgment of Juliet's status. Owing to Lord Denmeath's attempts to buy off Juliet's claims to her legitimacy by sending the Bishop "a promissory-note of six-thousand pounds sterling, for the portion of a young person . . . known by the name of Mademoiselle Juliette; to be paid by Messieurs ***, bankers, on the day of her marriage with a native of France, resident of that country" (646), Juliet is blackmailed — at the cost of the Bishop's life — into a marriage with a villainous French Commissary. Juliet escapes the consummation of this marriage, and is equally fortunate eventually to make her safe return to England (the point at which the narrative begins), yet she remains in suspense throughout the novel regarding the Bishop's safety. The slightest slip of the tongue might reveal her own whereabouts, and might thus put the life of the Bishop in jeopardy. Having lost her money in the course of her hasty flight from France, and having no refuge of her own, Juliet is forced to seek refuge within — and find sustenance among — the dubious kindness of strangers.

Burney's representation of English insularity and meanness in the novel is distilled into concentrated character portraits of near pathological intensity. Certainly, each of the individuals Juliet is compelled to confront and with whom she is coerced into some sort of dependant relationship appears calculatedly to represent a different, refracted aspect of human psychosis. Mrs. Maple, as her name might suggest, is a woman concerned primarily with the hard and varnished surface of things; she is the stuff of floors and furniture. Defined herself by the social acceptability and acquiescence of her behaviour, she expects from others conformity and accountability — precisely the two things that the

disenfranchised Juliet is incapable of offering. Mrs. Ireton, her name similarly intimating her irascible and choleric character, is a self-conscious hypochondriac, expecting at all times a sure deference to her own whims and wishes, though denying the legitimacy of all such "affectations" in others (she directly anticipates the character of Mrs. Julia Wititterly in Charles Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby*). Mr. Giles Arbe, although a fundamentally generous friend to Juliet, confronts the bad behaviour of others with displays of sociopathic honesty (or tactlessness), and might serve as a model of Freudian cryptomysia. The benefits of Sir Jaspar Harrington, another of Juliet's supporters, are close to annihilated by his childish participation in a self-contained and self-sufficient world of Rosicrurean fantasy.

Burney's scathing portrait of English self-obsession and xenophobia in *The Wanderer* — her indictment of the culture's underlying misogyny and fundamental inhumanity — would be reason enough for many of its contemporary readers to have found the work unappealing and even offensive. "A man is angry at a libel," G. K. Chesterton is reported once to have said, "because it is false, but at a satire because it is true" — and the biting satire of Burney's novel perhaps for some of its earliest readers was a bit too close to home. *The Wanderer* is from its very opening a uniquely discomfiting novel. Burney's purposefully repetitious presentation of Juliet's "difficulties" in England reads like an extended, narrative nightmare; there hangs in the air of the novel a sense of oneiric surrealism. The heroine's inability to name herself or, for that matter, to put the nature of her dilemma into words resembles nothing so much as the baffled inarticulation of the nightmare-ish dreamer. Dreamlike, too, is the manner in which certain characters appear and reappear throughout the novel in strange and unexpected places, bobbing and bubbling to the surface of the narrative like the manifestations of phantasmagoric faces in the dreaming landscape. The confinement and concealment of Juliet's plight and identity are reflected in reiterated scenes of entrapment (Juliet is constantly locked within rooms and buildings, encircled by chairs, by screens, by menacing physical bodies, on staircases and in hallways, or otherwise physically barred from escaping those who persecute her) and in the novelist's presentation of the claustrophobia such scenes entail. She is driven to extremes — often quite literally pushed to the edge. Burney describes Juliet's typical state of mind in the narrative at one point in the novel: "She felt as if cast upon a precipice, from which, though a kind hand might save, the least imprudence might precipitate her downfall" (571). In this respect, the novel recalls the predicaments of the often besieged heroines of Samuel Richardson's novels — *Pamela* and *Clarissa* — while at the same time anticipating the menacing, phantasmagoric landscapes of works such as Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* (fantasy narratives that similarly depict the psychological and physical dilemmas accompanying the processes of cultural and sexual "acclimatization"). *The Wanderer* also presents in its subject an extended picture of isolation and men-

tal depression — a portrait perhaps unprecedented in English fiction. However much Juliet tries to keep her mind focused by occupying herself with simple mental and physical tasks, she is harassed on all sides by those who wish to call her into the anguished passing of the present moment.

There may have been even more specific reasons for the work's initially poor reception. Doody, among others, has convincingly argued that *The Wanderer* was the victim of an excessively harsh and ideologically- motivated series of critical reviews that appeared shortly after the novel's publication. English readers were by 1814 too self-complacent regarding the recent Allied victories over Napoleon to feel the need sympathetically to accept a novel that critically presented "a sombre view of deep-rooted wrongs in the structure of English social, economic, and sexual life." "It was a good time for right-wing triumph," Doody observes, "and a bad time for pleas for more social justice or appreciation for a better understanding of France" (Doody *Burney*, 332). By the time the novel finally appeared, such an argument stresses, English readers simply did not wish to be reminded of the revolutionary thought that was at last (or so it seemed) being safely placed where it belonged — firmly in the past. This sentiment was to some degree picked up and echoed by the contemporary reviews of *The Wanderer*. While pretending to mourn the passing of a younger writer ("Fanny" Burney — the late, lamented author of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* — who had excelled in detailing the social and romantic trials of young women in polite society), the reviewers barely concealed their indignation at having been presented in her stead with a female author who dared to confront them with a very real and very powerful critique of the *status quo*.[6]

The consensus of the contemporary reviews that greeted *The Wanderer* in the year immediately following its publication, in any event, was clear. On the positive side, almost all conceded to Burney some skill in what John Wilson Croker called "discrimination of character," and both the *British Critic* and the *Edinburgh Review* singled out for particular praise the delineation of comic characters such as Mrs. Ireton and Mr. Giles Arbe. With the exception of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, little mention was made of the central character of Juliet, nor was there much attention devoted to the novel's ostensible hero, Albert Harleigh. Almost all the reviewers criticized the novel for being too long or, at least, for taking too much time in advancing its central plot. The objection that remained central to all the reviews, however — clearly voiced in Croker's notice in the *Quarterly Review,* embarrassingly conceded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and lurking just beneath William Hazlitt's supposed consideration of romance novels in general in the *Edinburgh Review* — was Burney's rejection of political orthodoxy and, more specifically, her purposefully ambiguous presentation of the character of Elinor Jodrell as the mouthpiece of many of the "new ideas" heard only because of the earth-shattering effects of the "sublimity of Revolution."

Burney had to some degree anticipated precisely these criticisms. Writing to Georgiana Waddington several months prior to the novel's publication, the author had confessed that she already suspected that the critics were looking to find in *The Wanderer* a very particular *kind* of historical novel — namely, a critical picture of life in France under Napoleon — that its author was simply not prepared to offer. "Expectation," she wrote in a letter to Waddington in December, 1813, "has taken a wrong scent, & must necessarily be disappointed" (*JL*, vii. 209). By the end of February, the publication of the novel was too imminent to prompt any feeling other than nervous anxiety and trepidation on the part of its author. Burney acknowledged to her brother Charles that she was "wofully [sic] worried" regarding the reception of the work (*JL*, vii. 251).

However, the sudden and unexpected death of Burney's father on 12 April, 1814 — just a few days after *The Wanderer* first appeared at the booksellers — quickly and completely pushed all thoughts of the work and its reception from Burney's mind. Shortly after her father's death, Burney wrote again to Mrs. Waddington, commenting, "[I] know nothing of how [The Wanderer] fares, either for censure or partiality . . . for I think of it so little as never to make any enquiry" (*JL*, vii. 360). Later in the year, still only barely recovered from her loss, she was able to write to her brother Charles about the work in a letter that displays a bemused awareness of the political motivations that lay beneath some of the more hostile reviews (she seems at least to have been quite aware of Croker's response and of the suggestion that she was a supporter of Napoleonic tyranny, in particular, although she claims not to have read any critiques). Burney displays a confidence that time would in fact see *The Wanderer* assume its rightful position of admiration and respect among her four published novels. "I do not fret myself, I thank Heaven," she wrote,

> about the Reviews. I shall not read any of them, to keep myself from useless vexation — till my spirits and my time are in harmony for preparing a corrected Edition. I shall then read all — &, I expect, coolly and impartially. I think the public has its full right to criticise — & never have had the folly & vanity to set my heart upon escaping its late severity, which reminiscence keeps alive its early indulgence. But if, when all the effect of false expectation is over, in about five years, the work has *ONLY* criticism, — then, indeed, I shall be lessened in my own fallen fallen fallen hopes — fed, now, not by any general conceit, but an opinion That — if the others were worthy of good opinion, THIS, when read fresh, & free from local circumstances of a mischievous tendency, will by no means be found lowest in the scale.
>
> (*JL*, vii. 484)

The letter significantly reveals that Burney clearly intended to rework the novel for a subsequent revised edition. Although the death of her father may have deprived her of a necessary psychological audience for any fresh attempts at extended prose fiction, the author could still, within the years immediately following his death, at least contemplate "correcting" or abridging those novels already extant.

Such revision would have been nothing new to Burney. Indeed, although her third novel, *Camilla* (1790) had already been substantially rewritten for a new edition in 1802, Burney continued to plan her revisions for still another version of the work well into the 1830s. Her constant revisions of *Camilla* in fact form an interesting point of contrast to the manner in which she was to approach the possible rewriting of *The Wanderer*. In her study of the various editorial revisions to which *Camilla* was subjected (the novel was effectively rewritten three times over the period of a remarkable forty years), the critic Lillian Bloom argued some time ago that Burney's attitude towards *Camilla* — a "recalcitrant novel" that "haunted its creator to the last years of her long life" — was similar to that of an indulgent mother towards "a beloved but intractable child" (see Bloom, 367-93). Continually picturing the novelist as a grotesque and vaguely Shelleyan "maker" and "shaper" of her fiction, Bloom contended that the first draft of the novel was the product both of "artistic compulsion" and "financial exigency." "By the last month of 1794," Bloom wrote of the composition of *Camilla*, "Fanny Burney — now Mme d'Arblay — began to animate her skeleton, give it connective tissue, some muscles, and far too much flesh." Bloom argued that in the months that followed, Burney wrote so quickly that she lost sight of her original plot and, by the spring of 1796, produced a finished novel of five volumes, when she had intended to write only four. Burney's own comments on the first edition of 1796 would appear to support Bloom's claim that the narrative had somehow passed beyond its author's control. "[*Camilla*] is longer by the whole fifth volume than I had at first planned," Burney confessed in a letter to her father, "— & I am almost ashamed to look at it size! — & afraid my Readers would have been more obliged to me if I had left so much out — than for putting so much in! —." The character of Burney's revisions to the novel made after its initial publication would seem likewise to substantiate Bloom's contention that the author subsequently thought the work "too long, inconsistent in characterization, lax in grammar and diction, [and] glutted with Gallicisms." Throughout 1799 and into the early months of 1800, the author worked on the manuscript, stripping it of "superfluities," omitting interruptions to the main narrative, and attempting to restore something of the "narrative rhythm" of her original conception.

The second, substantially altered edition of *Camilla* appeared in 1802. Although conceding that "not all of Mme d'Arblay's deletions" in the new edition were "suggested by others," Bloom nevertheless insinuated that many of Burney's cuts were in actual fact dictated by the response to the novel of critics such as William Enfield (writing in the

Monthly Review), by her acquaintances (such as the Reverend Thomas Twining, a friend of Dr. Charles Burney), and by her father himself. The portrait of "the artist as editor" that emerges from Bloom's account of Burney's supposedly self-directed and self-ordered revisions to *Camilla* is in many respects an uncomplimentary and unflattering one. Rather than relying on her own proper sense of what kind of language, usage, and characterization were appropriate to her narrative, Burney is presented as having gone far beyond the strictures of the critics in her anxious desire to please. "When in those early months of 1802," Bloom notes of Burney, "the booksellers had demanded a stringently emended *Camilla*, she gave them all they asked for — and more" (Bloom 386). The "editor" that finally emerged from Bloom's study was little more than the largely indiscriminating tool of publishers and critics. The slips and scraps of paper on which Burney — from about 1819 forward — jotted down her ideas for a possible third edition of *Camilla* revealed only an inclination "further . . . to cater to a popular market." "Her excisions between 1819 and 1836" Bloom concluded, "fell into the same patterns as those for the 1802 impression. She hacked away mercilessly at her own bald expression" (386). The anticipated third edition of the novel was never to be printed, however, and the emendations that the novelist had intended to make in the text — many of them scribbled on the backs of letters and even on pages torn from her son's school notebooks — remain to this day among the unpublished papers relating to Burney in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library.

III.

Also in the Berg collection, however, is a unique, interleaved copy of *The Wanderer* that reveals a very different picture of Burney as the editor of her own work. Her pencilled comments to *The Wanderer* are best divided into at least four categories. The first such category includes obvious corrections in typography and minor changes in grammar, vocabulary, and/or syntax. The second extends to more substantive and consequential changes and substitutions in matters such as individual word choice, or in the vocabulary and the disposition of short phrases. The third and most significant category comprehends suggestions both for specific transpositions and amalgamations of existing textual material, as well as plans for possible cuts to the text. Many of the marginal comments that fall within this third category — comments that on occasion consist of no more than one or two words — would appear to indicate a negative or in some way "corrective" critical judgement on the part of the author with regard to the text of the novel as it was originally printed in the first edition. The same category highlights individual words or modest commentary indicating an intention to edit the text in the specific interest of intensifying, diminishing, or otherwise modifying already existing elements of the novel's plot and/or characterization. Also included in this section are graphic or otherwise symbolic "mark-

ings" likewise indicating an apparent intention to edit the text in order to change, modify, or redirect the substance of the narrative; such shorthand markings consist most frequently of circles (apparently indicating a desire on the part of the author to cut or edit the material so designated), small crosses and parallel vertical lines (both of which indicate an intention to retain or occasionally even to amplify existing material), slashes, and rather more enigmatic single lines. Burney on occasion employs such vaguer and at times positively cryptic marks (consisting often of a single word or exclamatory ejaculation on the part of the author) suggestive of a desire to effect changes in character and exposition more fundamental and generally more comprehensive than those indicated by any more local, individual, or explicit commentary. The fourth — and, for our purposes, final — category of revision is given over to the marginal remarks, individual words, and graphic symbols indicating Burney's general and at times heartily self-congratulatory approbation of the text of the novel as it had originally been printed. To the necessarily broad distinctions marked out by these four categories, readers should likewise and finally take note of at least one occasion on which the author — tired by or perhaps momentarily distracted from the difficult and unapologetically self-critical task of revision that lay before her — appears absent-mindedly to have doodled in the volumes (Burney at one point goes so far as to complete the rough profile of a male individual on one of the book's interleaves).

We might also, at this stage, hazard some few other and rather more general observations on the nature and the distribution of Burney's pencilled comments. Burney's responses to the printed text, for example, are likely to be more thorough and copious toward the beginning of each of the five volumes; as the author reads through each of the five, printed volumes of her work, in other words, she becomes in each instance markedly less inclined to record any detailed judgements in the interleaves as she moves on, preferring rather (it would appear) increasingly to restrict her comments as she progresses to a series of brief, summary judgements, typically recorded on the interleaved page facing the conclusion of the text of each individual chapter. The incidental doodle mentioned above, for example, seems itself to serve as some indication of the degree to which the author might momentarily have grown weary of her self-imposed task of revision, although it is equally instructive to note that Burney's comments seem actually to grow more determinedly positive and self-confident — rather than more negative or in any way censorious — as she makes her way through the work. Indeed, the author's early anticipation that major revisions would need to be undertaken to ready and prepare *The Wanderer* for future editions in fact appears gradually but unmistakably to yield to a more positive assessment of her actual success and achievement in the first edition of the novel.

Having thus simply classified Burney's anticipated revisions to the novel with reference to the broad distinctions of authorial intention and

design differentiated within the parameters of each of the four categories outlined above, we find ourselves already in a position to undertake a closer (albeit — given the scope and ambitions of the present survey — still and necessarily anecdotal) examination of the actual substance of some of these intended revisions.

The first such category, again, is meant to comprise only the most essential and fundamental changes to the grammar, vocabulary, and syntax of the novel; it extends only as far as such emendations to what might for the sake of convenience be termed the verbal micro-structure — or to the most essential syntactic and linguistic units of the novel — as would merely, at the proof stage at least, have constituted judicial and painstaking (if finally and largely incidental) corrections to the original copy text. Consequently, most of these changes — however much they might clearly give voice to a desire generally and at the most basic of levels to facilitate the flow of the author's syntax and ideas — look with equal clarity to restrict themselves to the sorts of emendations that aim not to precipitate any profound transformations in the novel's structure, style, or overall meaning, but seek rather to correct small errors in expression. More simply, we are in this first category not yet operating even within the realm of such linguistic data on the level of "text grammar" or even "sentence grammar" that might be expected to yield anything of fruitful, theoretical interest to the modern or post-modern stylistician. Moreover, and particularly in light of the aforementioned fact that Burney's markings tend typically to be more patiently thorough in the earliest volumes of the work (and likewise, by a kind of logical extension, toward the earliest pages of those same volumes), the effect of the kinds of minor changes that fall into this first category are for our purposes most clearly exemplified by some of the pencilled comments that stand at the very beginning of the novel's first volume.

In the extended "Dedication" to Dr. Charles Burney that opens the novel and that introduces Burney's narrative to its readers, the author pointedly refers to a dedication she had addressed to that very same individual some years earlier — the dedication, that is, that had in like manner announced the tremulous ambitions of her first published effort, *Evelina*, in January, 1788. "Your name," as Burney now notes with reference to the invocation of her father on that earlier occasion, "I did not dare then pronounce: and myself I believed to be 'wrapt up in a mantle of impenetrable obscurity'" (*The Wanderer*, 3). Burney changes the passage leading to the reiteration of her own preface to *Evelina* so as instead to read: "Your name I did not then pronounce: and *my own* I believed to be 'wrapt in the mantle of impenetrable obscurity.'" Another example of this straightforward kind of change will be found some few pages later in the Dedication, at which point the author effects a similarly modest correction to her articulation of the observation that ". . . the same being who, unnamed, passes unnoticed, if proceeded by the title of a hero, or a potentate, captures every eye, and is pursued with clamorous praise . . ." (8), by taking the opportunity of revision to intro-

duce into that sentence the parallel structure, "of a hero, or *of* a potentate." As in most cases of parallel construction, Burney's slight change in grammar results syntactically in a change of architectonic balance, the structural effect of which is absent from her earlier articulation; in so doing, the correction arguably (if almost imperceptibly) heightens the rhetorical effect of the idea being expressed in the passage. Though obviously not the sort of emendation that might by any stretch of the imagination be judged profound or even significant apart from the designedly confined and local nature of its effect, Burney's tiny alteration to the text in such an instance as this to some degree is very much of a piece with her more sweeping corrections to the text

Some few alterations of this nature are made to the grammar and vocabulary of the novel proper, and — as in the case of the last example cited above — such changes, however small, can similarly effect subtle shifts in the meaning and the resonance of Burney's prose. In the narrative of Volume I, Chapter XIII, for instance, circumstances conspire to prevent the heroine Juliet, who has passed the afternoon pleasantly in the company of Lady Aurora Grenville while in the household of Mrs. Howel, from herself returning to her own temporary place within the establishment of Mrs. Maple. Having first described the nature of Juliet's dilemma, the text then reads: "A chamber [i.e. at Mrs. Howel's] was now prepared for Ellis in which nothing was omitted that could afford either comfort or elegance . . ." (114). Burney's markings indicate a desire to eliminate the slight shadow of reluctance cast by the verb "afford" in this same sentence with the conceivably more generous connotations (i.e., in the sense of "less constrained" or "more freely given") singled by its near-synonym, "offer" (so that the emended sentence would conclude ". . . in which nothing was omitted that could offer either comfort or elegance"). Such a minuscule change might admittedly indicate little more than the author's perception of a simple typographical mistake; similarly, it might capture nothing more significant than a snapshot of the author in the act of effecting the kinds of quick-sighted corrections of those errors that could easily have occurred in the mechanical process of transforming the precise substance of the author's own manuscript into the stuff of a printed text. Be that as it may, readers would do well to remain open to the possibility that even the apparently minor or inconsequential correction effected by an emendation such as that which replaces "afford" with "offer" can serve (as it may serve in this instance) subtly to change the underlying meaning of the passage in question. Such a change can in this particular case, for example, be interpreted as looking slyly to emphasize the fact that the domestic hospitality of Mrs. Howel and of her own particular charge, Lady Aurora, appears at this early stage of the novel to be extended cheerfully and even generously to the unknown and socially unplaceable heroine — the careful observation of which circumstance works in turn to establish that same household as standing in sharp contrast to that of the waspish and unwilling Mrs Maple, who only reluctantly and in a

spirit of unabashed self-interest shelters the same refugee close beneath the eaves of her own roof.

IV.

The second class of emendations to *The Wanderer* comprises its author's rather more substantial changes to the vocabulary of the novel, and extends to anticipated transformations in the wording and disposition of short phrases and even, in several cases, entire sentences. Once again, markings indicating such changes are far more likely to be found in the earliest interleaves of each of the work's first three volumes, rather than among their later pages, or in volumes four or five of the published text. Very early in the novel — at Volume I, Chapter II — Mrs. Maple's suspicions that Juliet could in time prove to have been a thief and even to have stolen some property of her own that she might not miss "for a twelvemonth afterwards" (25), prompts her to call for some authorities to be alerted to the fact of the supposed foreigner's arrival in England soon after the party has landed at Dover. The printed text reads: ". . . Mrs. Maple angrily desired the landlord to take notice, that a foreigner, of a suspicious character, had come over with them by force, whom he ought to keep in custody, unless she would tell her name and business" (26). Burney, in her pencilled emendations, alters the phrase "to take notice" in the sentence to "would send to the police." The effect of this seemingly minor change is in this instance, the reader soon realizes, profound. Having effected such a revision, the novelist would have underscored the danger in which her heroine was now placed of being confronted not merely with the personal and arbitrary authority of the innkeeper, but rather with the official and rather more consequential power of established officers of the law — precisely those authorities, in fact, with whom Juliet is particularly desirous to avoid contact at this early stage of the novel. Likewise, the mere possibility that her fellow travellers might very well send for the police — as opposed to the simple request that the preoccupied innkeeper merely "take notice" of her arrival and behaviour – more than justifies Juliet's otherwise extreme and even violent reaction to the threat of any and all confrontations with established officials; the unsociable hostility and xenophobia of such a menace to Juliet's hard-won liberty heightens the effect of Harleigh's own singularly isolated and defiant protection of his "incognito" in the face of considerable opposition and even mockery.

Although, again, more frequently suggested in the earliest pages of the work, changes of this sort are not confined to the novel's first volume. At the opening of Volume II, for instance, Mrs. Maple's household has been thrown into confusion following the abrupt disappearance of Elinor Jodrell. Juliet, who has (to her own great consternation) been chosen by Elinor as a confidant to her extraordinary flight is told by Elinor's younger sister, Selina, that the servants have begun to offer some information as to just how Elinor contrived her departure so as not to be

noticed by the other members of the household, yet concludes her account with the observation, "But we are no wiser still as to where she is gone" (198). Burney planned to change this sentence to read: "But we know nothing as to where she is gone." This is an apparently minor change, yet it is an emendation that once again effectively deepens the meaning and underscores the dramatic tension of the scene and of the heroine's dilemma. The transformation of the printed text's litotes ("no wiser still") to a more emphatic and absolute affirmation of ignorance ("we know nothing") apart from obviously tightening the novel's prose, serves to heighten the divide between Juliet's (unwanted and on some level undesirable) knowledge of Elinor's plans, and the absolute ignorance of those in whose charge the latter remains.

As late as Volume IV, Burney is still on the look-out for any slight changes that might similarly be made to give more precision to the novel's prose. In the printed edition of the novel Juliet, in the opening paragraph of Chapter LXII, having finally entered the shelter of her own chamber following yet another near-disastrous confrontation with the increasingly unstable Elinor Jodrell, utters a private prayer to her friend Gabriella, soliciting her continued support. "Oh Gabriella," she ejaculates, "receive, console, strengthen, and direct your terrified, — bewildered friend! —" (582). Burney intended to replace "receive" in that same sentence with "invigorate." The novelist's anticipated change on this occasion reflects a desire not merely to transform Juliet's passive desire for reception and sanctuary with the more rigorous and active request for life and energy, but signals a wish to clarify the factual logic of the work. Juliet, though still planning at this stage of the novel once again to seek out the friend from whom she has so long been separated, is yet unclear within her own mind as to just when, where, and how she shall be reunited with her childhood companion. The sharp eye of the novelist, spotting an apparent inconsistency in the chronology and natural continuity of Elinor's thoughts, moves quickly and subtly to grant a slightly more logical movement to her heroine's near-silent prayer.

V.

The third and very comprehensive category of change indicated by Burney in the interleavings to the Berg Collection's copy of *The Wanderer* anticipates possible amalgamations and transpositions of existing material in the printed text, and extends to projected omissions of larger blocks of the narrative (sentences, paragraphs, and even — it would seem — entire chapters) from the existing version of the novel. The changes that fall into this category are perhaps the most extensive and frequent kinds of transformations Burney contemplated for any future edition of the work. Had the author in fact gone on to effect even a fraction of the cuts she appears to have contemplated for any such edition, readers would have been faced with a very different *Wanderer* indeed.

Burney appears to have begun the ruthless process of trimming perceived excesses both in the style and in the substance of her work even

in the Dedication to the novel itself. On the interleaving that faces the first page of the existing Dedication, we find Burney noting a desire to "shorten where possible as a whole." Her injunction may well indicate a preliminary desire to cut as much as possible from the first two books of the novel (i.e. the material contained in Volume I "as a whole"), but some few marks and emendations within the dedicatory address to her father suggest that no portion of the printed text was to be spared the author's vigilant revision. Burney notes at the same place that she plans to omit many of the "Buts," "Neverthelesses," and "Howevers" that stand in the text. The desire to edit such coordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs from the work, as we shall see, sits well with a clear desire on the part of the author to move her narrative forward at a swifter and less cluttered pace. Although such conjunctions obviously serve in the text to connect the author's words and word groups and — like subordinating and correlative conjunctions — serve as transitions between clauses, they tend necessarily to qualify and delimit the novel's narrative prose, to retreat and to qualify meaning. Burney's editorial revisions reveal at all times a concern rather to speed her story up and — particularly in matters of exposition of central plot and character — to get things moving with as little such qualification as possible.

Burney is at times ruthless in her desire to move the action of the novel forward at this swifter and less hesitant (at least as she saw it) pace. Some of her changes are surprising. Many readers, for example, are struck by the stunning effectiveness of *The Wanderer*'s opening sentence/paragraph in presenting readers with a precise and economically clear vision of the novel's setting — with regards both to historical time and place — and with a dramatic situation the tension and danger of which is immediately vivid and visceral. The printed text at the opening of Book I, Chapter I, reads:

> During the dire reign of the terrific Robespierre, and in the dead of night, braving the cold, the darkness and the damps of December, some English passengers, in a small vessel, were preparing to glide silently from the coast of France, when a voice of keen distress resounded from the shore, imploring, in the French language, pity and admission.
>
> (11)

Few students of the novel would fail to recognize the suitability of such an abrupt opening to Burney's work. The reader is plunged headlong into the action of the novel. The notes of mystery, secrecy, darkness, and peril — the immediate threats of revelation and articulation — set exactly the right tone for the work as a whole. We are swiftly *in medias res*, and the questions concerning identity, purpose, and destination soon given voice by the passengers huddled together in this "small vessel" precisely reflect our own curiosity as readers. The damp and the darkness of the characters' situation form the misty, palpable counterpart to

our own, only slowly qualified hermeneutic darkness. The reader's expectations of meaning are slowly and minutely to be adjusted as textual clues carefully reveal just where we are and what is happening — as the implications of the novel's narrative syntax are skilfully parsed by the author in the chapters that follow. The apparent, absolutely certain precision of Burney's language and, particularly, her choice of adjectives in the sentence ("During the *dire* reign of the *terrific* Robespierre . . .") seems calculated to evoke a maximum of terror and menace: "dire," for example, not only connotes that which is awful, portentous, and even evil, but manages as well to conjure in the shadows of its meaning "the dire sisters" — the tormenting Furies of classical mythology, the daughters of Night — figures who are, after all, appropriate muses to invoke from their drear domain in this novel of suffering and persecution. "Terrific," likewise, linguistically captures the immensity of the danger inspired by the Committee of Public Safety during *the* "Reign of Terror" of 1792 - 94, while at the same time underscoring the British fascination with the impressive figure of Maximilian Robespierre himself who — like the line of kings he has temporarily replaced — enjoys not a tenure of office but a "reign" (this fascination is made explicit later in the work, not only in Elinor's inclination towards French Republicanism, but in the comments and political speculations of young Gooch and the members of his club regarding the wily machinations an Anglicised "Mounseer Robert Speer."

Given the care that seems to have been taken with this induction to the novel, it consequently comes as something of a surprise for the modern reader to find that Burney herself was inclined to omit the first, historicizing phrase of her sentence from any later editions of the novel; she would have done so, apparently, in order to effect what she describes in the interleavings as an even "more interesting" and "abrupt" opening to the work. Burney has crossed out the beginning of the opening sentence and seems prepared instead to have begun the volume with the words "In the dead of night, braving the cold, etc.." It is striking that the author's proposed change, delaying the historical context provided by the opening clause of the sentence as printed in the first edition, would only have deepened the mystery of the novel's action even further; indeed, such a change plunges us further into the darkness of narrative speculation and modestly increases the generic status of the novel *as* mystery. While other aspects of Burney's revisions, as we shall see, may seek to clarify aspects of both plot and character — to make the reader more aware of what is immediately transpiring in her fiction — the author felt no reluctance in delaying the revelation of larger narrative "secrets." The teleology of the novel is, in fact, strengthened, as the reader is compelled to pursue those secrets for him or her own self. What Roland Barthes (at least at one stage of his career) would have called the hermeneutic and cultural "codes" of the work — the interpretive structures that pose enigmas and maintain narrative suspense, or rely upon shared historical and cultural knowledge — are

only underscored by Burney in her contemplated changes to the novel. The desire further to entrench the reader in the mysteries concerning both Juliet's identity as well as the circumstances surrounding her return to England led Burney not only to contemplate omitting crucial, early, contextualizing "bytes" of narrative information, but likewise to streamline the earliest chapters of the novel. Almost all the contemplated cuts work to draw the reader into the heroine's predicament at a faster — and in some ways more designedly bewildering — narrative pace. The reader's natural hunger for information is to be increased as he or she is moved swiftly through the initial situation of the fiction towards change and revelation. What J. Hillis Miller has described as "the patterning or repetition of elements surrounding a nuclear figure" (an element which, he notes, is one of the basic elements of any narrative) is consequently brought into sparer, starker relief (Miller, 66-79).

At Chapter VI, for example — in a passage that details the preparations of Mrs. Maple's household, of which Juliet is temporarily a member, for their removal from London to Brighthelmstone — Burney appears first to have noted her desire simply to "shorten" several elements of her narration "a bit." Although certain pieces of information furnished in the opening paragraphs of the chapter are in fact essential to our later understanding of the novel's plot (we are here given the substantial background of Elinor's engagement to Harleigh's younger brother, and of her retreat to the south of France following the breaking of that engagement and subsequent return to England in the company of both Mrs. Maple and Harleigh himself), the incidents described in the body of the chapter itself are deemed by Burney to be overdrawn and unnecessary. The centerpiece of the section, which finds the now-undisguised Juliet almost forcibly dragged by Elinor into the presence of Mrs. Maple's company and an embarrassed Harleigh, is dismissed by the author as "outrée"; the subsequent clamour produced by Selina, Mr. Ireton, and Mrs. Maple and Elinor themselves for Juliet to reveal her name and identity is described with a similar burst of (generally uncharacteristic) Gallic condemnation on the part of the author as "trop trop trop." By the end of the chapter, Burney arrives at a clearly articulated decision to "omit this scene" entirely. The essential narrative information could easily be included elsewhere; the pages-long repetition of the pestering and ill-usage suffered by Juliet at the hands of Mrs. Maple's circle, by contrast, appears to have been deemed by the author to be quite simply unnecessary. Burney may well have suspected that the melodramatic, almost slap-stick nature of the abuse inflicted by Elinor on Juliet at this stage of their relationship mitigated against the latter's choice — made later in the same volume — of the same individual as the bearer of her most intimate commissions to Harleigh.

By far the greater part of Burney's notations suggesting further omissions and cuts to the novel, however, are made not — as in the examples above — on such precise occasional or syntactical levels, but are rather indicated by periodic and summary judgements introduced

only at the end of the individual chapters. At the end of Chapter VIII, for example, Burney judges the preceding pages to have been "Altogether long," and indicates her intention to "curtail" the material contained therein "to a few paragraphs." The conclusion of Chapter IX similarly finds Burney pencilling her desire — in any future edition of the novel — to "shorten and naturalize" the narrative of the chapter and, once again, to "curtail if not omit" the section entirely. Likewise at the end of Chapter X Burney indicates an intention to "curtail to the utmost all but Harleigh and Miss Arbe." In later volumes, Burney will typically make notes to herself to "clear" or "shorten" or "abridge" her material.

Included in this third category of emendation are very brief comments — amounting, on many occasions, to no more than one or two words — that serve nevertheless often to indicate the author's desire to modify existing elements of plot and characterization. Burney at times expresses a negative critical judgement with regard to some aspect of the text of the first edition. Her main intention in these revisions would appear to have been to clarify certain aspects of her narrative, and more precisely to omit from any future edition of the novel elements of the plot that she now perceived to be extraneous to her central design. Suggestions regarding the manner in which the plot was to move forward that were not emphatically or pointedly picked up in the later volumes of *The Wanderer*, for example, are noted now to be irrelevant or, at the very least, unnecessary. In Volume I, Chapter VI, for example, the author suggests that young Ireton, "urged by a rich old uncle, and an entailed estate, to an early marriage" (54), is eventually to be coupled with Elinor's younger sister, Selina. In the printed edition of the novel, Burney writes of young Ireton's conduct soon after the refugees have arrived in London:

> He then saw Selina, Elinor's younger sister, a wild little girl, only fourteen years of age, who was wholly unformed, but with whom he had become so desperately enamoured, that, when Mrs. Maple, knowing his character, and alarmed by his assiduities, cautioned him not to make a fool of her young niece, he abruptly demanded her in marriage. As he was very rich, Mrs. Maple had, of course, Elinor added, given her consent, desiring only that he would wait till Selina reached her fifteenth birthday; and the little girl, when told of the plan, had considered it as a frolic, and danced with delight.
>
> (55)

Of this passage Burney noted in her corrections: "If this marriage does not take place let it be [omitted]."

Burney planned to effect similar changes elsewhere in the narrative, redirecting elements of her plot, as she had originally conceived it, or otherwise clarifying aspects of the narrative or of her characterization that proved in retrospect to be vague or ill-defined. The desire to effect

a closer delineation of character and motivation at times coincides with some potential redirection of the larger narrative. At the beginning of Volume IV, Chapter LXVII, Juliet has just arrived in London, and has left no time in joining her friend and confident Gabriella, whom she finds in a haberdasher's shop in Frith Street, Soho. Burney had originally described their reunion as follows:

> It was long ere either of them could speak; their swelling hearts denied all verbal utterance to their big emotions; though tears of poignant grief at the numerous woes by which they had been separated, were mingled with feelings of the softest felicity at their re-union. Yet vaguely only Juliet gave the history of her recent difficulties; the history which had preceded them, and upon which hung the mystery of her situation, still remained unrevealed. Gabriella forbore any investigation, but her look shewed disappointment. Juliet perceived it, and changed colour. Tears gushed from her eyes, and her head dropt upon the neck of her friend. "Oh my Gabriella!" she cried, "if my silence wounds, or offends you, – it is at an end!"
>
> (622)

Burney questioned her original intentions in the passage by writing a question in the interleaved edition: "Why her reticence to Gabriella [?] Change or Expand." The remark would appear to indicate that Burney, as careful a novelist as she tended to be, was not beyond losing sight of her original design or motivation at certain points in the novel.

It is far more often the case, however, that, upon re-reading the novel some time subsequent to its original publication, Burney gained some perspective on certain inconsistencies or redundancies in her portrayal of the novel's characters. Observations such as that which note that Mrs. Maple is at one early point in the novel "too like Ireton," or remarks indicating her intention at a certain passage to "keep only what is best" of Ireton, suggest that Burney planned entirely to trim the novel of possible repetition and superfluities, and bring her comic cast of characters into sharper focus. Throughout the volumes, the reader encounters notations such as: "Keep only what is quite best of Admiral," "Omit all of Ireton not indispensable," "Too much of Ireton," and "Keep Sir Jaspar above Old Gooch, Mrs. Ireton, and Gabriella." Similar remarks at times commend her characterization (e.g., "All of Lord Denmeath stet"). Burney's vigilance in such matters of characterization would appear to have been sustained throughout her reading of all five volumes. At the end of Chapter LXXVII, in Volume V, at a point in the narrative that finds Juliet in "the bosom of retired and beautiful rusticity" (718) — the home of Dame Fairfield, in the New Forest — Burney can still be found noting her intention to edit her characterization, declaring her intention: "Fairfield naturalized [and] gayified + shortened And All clear to one or 2 paragraphs."

Finally, our fourth category includes the presence of graphic, short-hand comments giving vaguer indications of a desire to effect substantive transformations in terms both of character and of plot and exposition. This short-hand includes changes and revision projected by Burney comprises vaguer indications of a desire to effect substantive transformations in terms both of character and of plot and exposition. Throughout all her projected revisions, Burney can be found indicating her intentions to cut the length of the novel and, it would seem, finally produce something closer to a three-volume novel. Again and again, Burney declares her intentions to "omit or change" everything from individual words, to exchanges between characters, to entire narrative episodes. Both Burney's coherent, written comments as well as her graphic shorthand "comments" declare her desire to "shorten" sections "a bit." Typical comments read: "Omit this scene," "shorten," "shorten and naturalize," "curtail," curtail if not omit," "some shortening and much clearing," "amalgamate," "altered and abridged yet generally retained," "shorten the Preliminary part," "the rest more poignant and shortened" "the rest cleared and much shortened." Burney clearly intended to make some dramatic excises in the existing text. The projected, revised edition of *The Wanderer* would have been a considerably less voluminous novel than its first edition counterpart.

VI.

I have reserved for the fourth and final category of revision those comments and markings of Burney's that preserve and otherwise highlight what might well be characterized as the most rewarding and quite simply the most cheerfully positive of the author's many and varied responses to her work. Throughout the five printed volumes of *The Wanderer*, Burney on many occasions indicates a sound and hearty approval of her own work; her marks and at times her extended notations of approval provide us with endearing if fleeting glimpses of Burney as a reader who not only read her work critically, but read it with obvious *enjoyment* as well. Her comments of approbation, while emphatic and decisive, are nevertheless rarely self-congratulatory or self-promotional in any public or self-conscious manner; we remember that the jottings and observations made throughout this copy of the novel were intended for the use of no one other than the novelist herself.

As is the case with some of Burney's less self-congratulatory judgements on her work, recognition of those moments when she feels that she has in fact succeeded in creating a desired effect, or feels likewise that her writing has been equal to the demands of the narrative as a whole, is made as early as the first Book of Volume I. Chapter V, for example — in which the heroine (still, at this very early stage of the novel nameless and generally referred to by the other characters only as "the Incognita") is brought to London and introduced into the London establishment of Mrs. Maple on Upper Brooke Street — is declared by

Burney to be "Generally faultless." It is perhaps worthy of note that the chapter is one in which the narrative moves swiftly and economically; Juliet is deposited in London, effects a separation between herself and Mrs. Ireton — in whose company she had been compelled to travel from Dover — determines that her friend Gabriella is for the time being untraceable, and is welcomed by Elinor into the household of Mrs. Maple prior to leaving for Brighthelmstone; all these events occur within a matter of less than eight pages in a modern edition. In the same Volume Chapter XI, which describes the stunning triumph of Juliet in her last-moment assumption of the role of Lady Townly in Elinor's amateur production of Vanburgh's *The Provok'd Husband*, as well as her earliest acquaintance with Lady Aurora Grenville, is noted by the author to be "superior & interesting." Although, as we have already has cause to observe, Burney anticipated cutting much material from these early pages of the novel, she appears nevertheless to have been absolutely pleased and satisfied precisely with those chapters toward the beginning of the work that contained the most crucial and consequential narrative *information*. Likewise, at precisely those moments when Burney's rhetoric needed to be most captivating and persuasive, the author more often than not demonstrates a conviction that she has risen to the task at hand. The description of Juliet's dramatic success in Chapter XI in fact brings the opening Book of *The Wanderer* to its conclusion, and thus marks the mid-point of the first volume as a whole; the success of the heroine's performance in Vanburgh's piece constitutes the first of the several critical and climactic moments, the intensity of which must together carry the narrative toward its conclusion. The final pages of the chapter focus specifically on the reactions of Lady Auroura and Lord Melbury to Juliet's performance and — even more significantly — on the articulation of their sharp perception of the degree of sensibility and moral rectitude that underlay Juliet's interpretation of the role of Lady Townley. When Lady Aurora, deep in conversation with Juliet, is reminded by an impatient Mrs. Howel that the horses have already been harnessed and kept waiting for some considerable time in the cold for her party's departure, she responds apologetically that anyone who has had the opportunity to form even the slightest acquaintance with the captivating Miss Ellis should be able easily to understand how difficult it is to tear one's self away from her company. The emotional exchange between Juliet, Lady Aurora, and her brother that follows this heartfelt declaration of sisterly attachment by necessity constitutes a crucial and determining moment in the dynamic of affection and sympathy that is to connect those same three characters to one another throughout the entire novel. The reader must, even from this early point in the narrative, be absolutely convinced of the unshakeable sincerity of such ties as would appear to bind the innate and seemingly "natural" gentility of the "Incognita" to the well-bred sensibilities of her more obviously aristocratic "friends." Indeed, the indisputable if yet inexplicable nature of these ties forms the very basis of the carefully sustained mystery of the

novel; the apparently irreconcilable divide that would appear to separate the blank slate of Ellis's social, professional, and personal history, on the one hand, from the unerringly scrupulous standard of conduct that characterizes her behaviour throughout the novel, on the other, is itself the primary site of the critique of the overburdened and inequitable politics of status and identification that motivates Burney's satire in the first place, and which, as such, constitutes its author's most significant contribution to the wide-ranging debate over sexual equality and the rights of women that frames the narrative as a whole. The reader must be absolutely convinced in these early pages that Lady Aurora's instinctive sympathy for Juliet is as correct and as judiciously perceptive as it is well-meaning and sincere; for it is only by means of such a conviction that the inexplicable and genuinely perplexing enigma of the wanderer's identity is furthered and intensified as the narrative progresses. Burney thus depicts Juliet as responding to Lady Aurora's praise with an intensity that seems immediately and in turn only to reinscribe the validity of her friend's judgement of her character:

> "What honour Your Ladyship does me!" cried Ellis, her eyes glistening: "and Oh! — how happy you have made me!" —
>
> "How kind you are to say so!" returned Lady Aurora, taking her hand.
>
> She felt a tear drop upon her own from the bent-down eyes of Ellis. Startled and astonished, she hoped that Miss Ellis was not again indisposed?
>
> Smilingly, yet in a voice that denoted extreme agitation, "Lady Aurora alone," she answered, "can be surprised that so much goodness — so unlooked for — so unexpected – should be touching!"
>
> "O Mrs. Maple," cried Lady Aurora, in taking leave of that lady, "what a sweet creature is this Miss Ellis!"
>
> "Such talents and a sensibility so attractive," said Lord Melbury, "never met before!"
>
> Ellis heard them, and with a pleasure that seemed exquisite, yet that died away the moment that they disappeared. All then crowded round her, who had hitherto abstained; but she drooped; tears flowed fast down her cheeks; she courtsied the acknowledgements which she could not pronounce to her complimenters and enquirers, and mounted to her chamber. Mrs. Maple concluded [Ellis] already so spoiled, by the praises of Lord Melbury and Lady Aurora Granville, that she held herself superior to all other; and the company in general imbibed the same notion. Many disdain, or affect to disdain, the notice of people of rank for themselves, but all are jealous of it for others. Not such was the opinion of Harleigh; her pleasure in their society seemed to him no more than a renovation to feelings of happier days. Who, who, thought he again, can'st thou be? And

> why, thus evidently accustomed to grace society, why art thou thus strangely alone — thus friendless — thus desolate — thus mysterious?
>
> (101-02)

In such a manner does Burney at once both clearly and economically reiterate the central mystery of her narrative (i.e. who *is* this enigmatic stranger, and how is it that — in spite of her otherwise unprepossessing appearance — she has come so naturally to manifest the gentility of a well-bred person?), while at the same time giving succinct expression to the nature and the effect of that servile and contemptible snobbery that constitutes the main target of her social satire. Moreover, Harleigh's own heightened curiosity with regard to the status of Miss Ellis, situated as it is within his clear approval of Lady Aurora's sentiments, forms a further connection between all four characters, drawing them together in an (as yet) unarticulated confederacy of sympathy and fellow-feeling, the honesty and spontaneous intensity of which subtly unites them against the unfeeling hypocrisy, prejudice, and self-interest that seems otherwise to characterize the norm of social interaction in the novel. It is to scenes and chapters such as this that Burney typically and quite justifiably appends her comments of approval; rereading them in print and with the sort of dispassionate, Horatian distance from their original conception that marks the work of any true "revision" from the lingering self-approval of a mere "rereading," the novelist seems to have been capable of gauging the success or failure of her narrative set-pieces with enviable candour. In this particular instance, she writes just at the end of the passage quoted above, "This last chap [stet] superior and interesting," much as she will judge other portions of her narrative as being suitably "funny" or "poignant," as the decorum of each particular situation demands.

Burney's notions of approval and her judgements regarding the ultimate success or failure of her intentions as manifest in the printed edition of her novel can be even more telling when her comments and revisions go one step further and address not merely issues of plot, pacing, and narrative suspense, but even more crucially confront the delineation in the novel of rather more complicated aspects of character, motivation, and ideology. This is perhaps most true in the case of her portrait of Elinor Jodrell. Elinor, as has already been noted, proved predictably to have been one of the most troubling elements of *The Wanderer* for Burney's contemporary reviewers to handle. Elinor's impassioned and uncompromising advocacy of radical notions including the political and social rights of women (though to some extent tempered by the judgement of characters such as Harleigh and of Juliet herself that she is a "mad woman" bent on "immediate self-destruction" [193]) emerges even when qualified and situated as the response of a disenfranchised hysteric with a force and with an audacity that was quite frankly too darkly powerful for comfort. The significant force of Elinor's character,

and thus the impress of the views to which she gives compelling voice in *The Wanderer*, is further complicated by the unusually strong position — by what might be described as the uniquely sovereign status — that Burney allows her to assume in relation to the novel's other characters, and particularly to its central protagonists, Juliet and Harleigh. Although she is clearly not meant to be thought of as the nominal heroine of the novel, Elinor, no less than Juliet, is herself represented as a kind of "wanderer" within the pages of Burney's fiction — a wanderer who is both compelled and to some degree condemned, if only by virtue of her own sustained and unflinching engagement with contemporary political ideas, over and over to transgress the socially acceptable boundaries that restrict, delimit, or otherwise seek to confine the thoughts and activities of women in England, no less effectively than they do in France. Burney would appear explicitly to acknowledge Elinor's status as the other "wandering" heroine of her work when, in the closing pages of the novel, she qualifies her final description of Elinor's reluctant capitulation to societal norms by allowing that character herself — and pointedly "in the anguish of her disappointment" — to cry out: "Alas! alas! . . . must Elinor too . . . find that she has strayed from the beaten road, only to discover that all others are pathless!" (873). Though the brief, concluding paragraphs of the novel that follow this final glimpse of Elinor return us to Juliet and to the broader lessons hopefully to be abstracted from the author's delineation of "the DIFFICULTIES with which a FEMALE has to struggle," Burney's rather more vivid account of the fate of Elinor effectively makes certain that her readers will close the book with this tortured cry of rage, regret and disappointment still ringing in their ears; Elinor's incredulous outrage in light of her grim "discovery" — in a manner somewhat similar to the frustrated gasp of anger that signals the abrupt departure of the "notoriously abused" Malvolio in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* — intimates the enigmatic potential of such defiance and resistance as threaten further to undermine and even to unravel the novel's otherwise comic and conventionally "happy" ending.

Burney would appear to have been preparing for precisely this effect from the very beginning of *The Wanderer*. The first time we see her in the novel, Elinor is represented as welcoming the arrival of the Incognita among the passengers in the Channel vessel, particularly as the mysterious circumstances of the stranger's appearance seems to afford the other refugees an opportunity for speculation and conjecture. "I am glad, therefore, that 'tis dark," she whispers on that occasion to Harleigh, "for" — she adds knowingly — "discovery is almost always disappointment" (13). These are among her very first words in the novel. By the end of the last volume, unfortunately, it is Elinor's own disillusionment — the final disintegration of her rebel spirit under a crushing and tyrannical weight of custom that transforms human beings into "mere, sleepy, slavish, uninteresting automatons" (177) — that is revealed as close to complete. Discovery has indeed resulted in

disappointment. For Juliet, finally, the necessarily independent movements of the Wanderer are at least seen as leading to the felicitous recovery of personal and social identity — to "the acknowledgment of her name, and her family" (873). The knowledge and experience borne of the far wider circuits encompassed by the ambitious and free-thinking Elinor, by sharp contrast, would appear only to leave her still and even more emphatically a perpetual wanderer in the ways of men, alike unknowing and unknown.

Despite such disillusionment — and even in the work of a novelist who could never seriously be criticized for having pulled any punches when it came to the creation of outspoken and independently-minded female characters — Elinor Jodrell remains a figure of unusual standing and conviction. The proper education of a female and the fate of an intelligent woman in a male-dominated society had of course always figured prominently among those issues explored by Burney in the pages of her novels, as well as in the interchanges and set-pieces of her several dramatic works. Those features that define and help to distinguish Elinor as well as Juliet as vital and compelling fictional characters in *The Wanderer,* after all, might justly be seen as reflecting, augmenting, and in some ways building upon the similar traits and interests which had already motivated heroines such as Evelina, Cecilia, and Camilla. At the very least, the ideological structures and strictures of the world into which Burney chooses to place her final pair of heroines is much the same world with which readers of the earlier novels have already grown familiar. The more general refrains and concerns that characterize Augustus Tyrold's famous and frequently reprinted epistolary "sermon" to his daughter Camilla in the novel that bears her name — the inescapable truth of his nervous speculation that "the temporal destiny of women is enwrapt in still more impenetrable obscurity than that of man," for example, or his even more pessimistic reflection that the best course of education for any female poses itself a pedagogical problem the answer to which lies "beyond human solution" — the articulation of such concerns, again, would, at the very least, be in no way out of place in *The Wanderer* (*Camilla,* 355-62).

Nevertheless, Elinor's impassioned and carefully informed enthusiasm with regard to the liberation of ideas and possibilities that she sees as having been released upon the world by the overthrow of the *ancien regime* in France takes Burney's exploration of such familiar issues to some arguably new and increasingly complicated levels in her final novel. However much Elinor may be positioned in the closing pages of Burney's narrative as what might be called a "recovering" revolutionary, her extreme enthusiasms can still be interpreted as constituting a markedly more positive and constructive response to recent events on the continent than the ill-informed jingoism typical of such characters as young farmer Gooch and his friends — characters who, even as they give voice to the casual misconstructions borne of insularity and ignorance (such as the jingoistic "dumbing-down" of Robespierre to plain

"Bob Spear"), nevertheless protest their absolute and native right themselves to have a determining say in contemporary political debate. Elinor herself, as even her most concerned critics within the novel tend significantly to concede, is nothing if not prepared in her responses, and open-minded (too open-minded, such critics would contend) in her judgements. Harleigh's own language in response to Elinor's revolutionary rhetoric, moreover, suggests that while he most strongly professes a desire only to restore her to a state of mind in which she might more reasonably employ the "highly gifted" nature of her thought and feelings, he is perhaps more deeply threatened simply by the degree of intellectual freedom — by the seemingly boundless extent of theoretical license — to which, since her return from France, Elinor looks defiantly to lay claim. "So boundless is the license which the followers of the new systems allow themselves," he frets to Juliet early in the novel, "that nothing is too dreadful to apprehend" (190 - 91). Such anxiety (approaching cowardice) in the face of *any* degree of political change sounds, even when articulated by the novel's romantic hero, excessively timorous and fearful. Though Harleigh repeatedly exhorts Elinor to "compose" her spirits and to "exert" her strength of mind, a truly composed and conventionally articulate Elinor Jodrell is probably the very last person he would ever be capable of confronting, let alone converting. Elinor may well be presented as having backed political losers in the short-term, but, by the same token, her acumen in judging the liberal and progressive tendency of political thought in the long run is arguably far more accurate and foresighted than the judgements of the novel's more conventionally conservative protagonists.

The rhetorical intensity with which Elinor is allowed by Burney — and on more than one occasion — to make her case for the sustained advocacy of extreme social and political reform is likely to strike even modern readers as somewhat audacious. The extended "conversation" or debate between Elinor, Juliet, and Harleigh that dominates the later chapters of the novel's first volume — a debate that unflinchingly confronts the supposedly desirable decorum imposed by custom and convention, on the one hand, with the forces unleashed by "the late glorious revolutionary shake given to the universe" (154), on the other — can serve as a prime example of Burney's fair-minded depiction of such matters. Elinor's speech to Juliet at the end of Chapter XVI, in which she undertakes to provide a summary analysis of the effects of her own recent experiences in France, offers just one among many possible illustrations of the striking degree of rigor, coherence, and theoretically enlightened optimism that Burney tends typically to extend to the pronouncements of her female revolutionary. "The grand effect . . . of beholding so many millions of men, let loose from all ties, divine or human," Elinor tells Juliet in that scene,

> Gave such play to my fancy, such a range to my thoughts, and brought forth such new, unexpected, and untried combinations

> to my reason, that I frequently felt as if just created, ushered into the world — not, perhaps, as wise as another Minerva, but equally formed to view and to judge all around me, without the gradations of infancy, childhood, and youth, that hitherto have prepared for maturity. Every thing now is upon a new scale, and man appears to be worthy of his faculties; which, during all these past ages, he has set aside, as if he could do just as well without them; holding it to be his bounden duty, to be trampled to the dust by old rules and forms, because all his papas and uncles were trampled so before him. However, I should not have troubled myself, probably, with any of these abstruse notions, had they not offered me a new road for life, when the old one was worn out. To find that all was novelty and regeneration throughout the finest country in the universe, soon infected me with the system-forming spirit.
>
> (156-57)

Of such speeches Burney comments in her revisions only that they are of "deep interest" and are "[on] the whole ex[cellent]," and that they are, of all things in the novel, "altogether the best."

VII.

What, then, are we finally to make of all these contemplated changes, cuts, and corrections? Do the results of the intense editorial focus that Burney brought to bear upon her own work amount to anything of greater consistency and significance? The answers to such questions might be summed up, briefly, as follows. In the face of criticisms regarding the length of *The Wanderer*, such as those put forth in the *British Critic* (e.g. "The plot is well conceived, but too much time is consumed before it is unravelled, and before we have the slightest idea of the history of our *incognita*"), Burney would appear to enter a qualified guilty plea (*British Critic*, 385). A close examination of the interleaved text of the novel indicates that the author did indeed intended, should the opportunity have presented itself, to make some sweeping cuts to the novel and so, as we have seen, to "shorten" and "curtail" her narrative material wherever she thought it possible to do so. Burney is far from indiscriminate in her contemplated cuts, however; she is not prepared to cater her critics. It is striking that those passages that might in the eyes of any other reader or editor appear ripe for the pruning, as it were, are pointedly retained in the contemplated, edited version of the novel. Those figures and ideas that gave most offence to Burney's more conservative critics are rarely, if ever, singled out for excision, while precisely those characters which were in fact praised for being "drawn with a knowledge of human nature and kept up with continued vivacity" (e.g. Mrs Ireton, Giles Arbe) are deemed to be in many instances overdrawn or unnecessary (*British Critic*, 382). Burney indicates throughout

the interleaved copy of *The Wanderer* that she will be attempting to whittle her narrative down to a more manageable size, but that she will be doing so on her own terms, and on no one else's.

The personal priorities indicated by Burney's markings brings us directly to the second important point that must be made regarding her postulated revisions. Almost all the critics had had something good to say about the presentation of the novel's secondary characters; more particularly, almost all praised the satiric portraits of Mrs. Ireton and of Mr. Giles Arbe. It is highly significant, therefore, that Burney seems deliberately to fly in the face of such responses when she indicates her desire in any future edition of the novel to diminish the role of precisely these same characters. In fact, paying scant attention to the comments of the reviewers, Burney reveals her intentions to cut and excise from the work what she herself sees to have been a certain redundancy of character "types" in the figures of Ireton and Arbe. As matters now stood, they were too much alike — too repetitive — effectively to represent the grim diversity of threats that confront the female in modern British society. The critics had asked for cuts in the novel, and such cuts, Burney had decided, she could provide; but she would cut the very thing the critics had most praised. To the criticism that the behaviour of her characters were too inconsistent, or that they were merely two-dimensional caricatures as opposed to more fully "rounded" characters in a realistic fiction, Burney's response was no less clear — and no less unrepentant. Rather than omit or soften her portraits in any way, she would appear to have desired only to sharpen the bright satiric edges of those representations. Her comments that she should "omit" certain passages or "keep only what is best" of a certain character or set piece is more often than not less a tacit concession to her critics than it is a reiteration of her determination to heighten the standing lines of her original portraiture.

Surely the most significant issue raised by the generally hostile responses of Burney's contemporary critics, however, was that of the author's apparent sympathy with the radical and revolutionary ideas given voice in the novel by Elinor Jodrell. If Burney wished to placate her critics — if she wished to make any concessions to the journals and reviews — then this was the area in which they might most profitably be undertaken. Is particularly worthy of note, therefore, that Burney gives no indication that she is prepared in any way to compromise her original portrait of Elinor. While it might be necessary to effect some slight changes in Elinor's lengthy, polemical speeches, the substance of those speeches was to remain pretty much unchanged. The fiery and seemingly dangerous pronouncements of Burney's revolutionary new woman were to be left as they were. The ideological gauntlet that Elinor flings down in the face of the more conventionally romantic aspirations of the novel's heroine and hero was emphatically *not* to be picked up and placed back on some inconspicuous place on the shelf. In the face of her most vociferous critics, Burney the editor stands unrepentant and defiant.

Notes

1. On the publication history of Burney's novel, see the "Note on the Text" in Fanny Burney, *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties,* Doody, Mack, and Sabor, eds., xxxviii-xxxix. All quotations from *The Wanderer* have been taken from this edition, which reprints a modestly "corrected" text of the first edition of 1814, and will be cited parenthetically.

In the prefatory dedication to the first edition (addressed to her father, Dr. Charles Burney) the novelist was to claim that she had already begun working on the novel "before the end of the last century" (4) — that is, at a period when she was still living in England and considerably prior to following her husband, M. Alexandre d'Arblay, to his native France in 1802. Some few entries in Burney's memorandum book dating from the period of her residence in Paris during the Napoleonic years suggest that the author's progress on the work in her new, adopted country was slow but steady (*JL*, vi. 785-86). These notes, which economically detail the precise nature of Burney's monthly composition (e.g., "*April.* Comp[omposed]. Humours of Working for Shops"; "*September.* c[omposed] Introduction to Toad Eating"; "*October* Comp[osed]. Toad Eating"), reveal that by 1806 she had begun to formulate the central narrative of her story, and was clearly well on her way to developing many of the major thematic concerns of the work. Burney was at the same time obviously making some considerable headway in fashioning the particular incidents and exchanges that distinguish some of the novel's more memorable set pieces. The specifics of these carefully-delineated scenes were eventually to prove central to the social satire of the finished work. Burney intimates in her dedication that she had "sketched" the entire novel some time considerably prior to 1812 (*JL*, vi. 596-615).

2. See, primarily, Lillian D. Bloom's study of Burney's revisions to *Camilla*, discussed later in this essay.

3. Burney's decision to return to her native England with her young son Alex in the following year so as personally to attend to a number of business and family matters likewise entailed a physical move and adjustment that disrupted the progress of her writing. Although Burney apparently intended originally to leave the manuscript of the novel in the safekeeping of her husband in France, an enforced delay in her crossing to England from Dunkirk left the author with some time on her hands, and induced her to write to d'Arblay, requesting that the completed material be forwarded to her at the Channel port. Burney's body of work on *The Wanderer* had by that time increased in size so as more than adequately to fill "a little portmanteau". French customs officials, themselves operating (as Burney herself observed) during "a period of unexampled strictness of Police Discipline with respect to Letters and Papers between the two nations", appear to have found the mere sight of such potentially subversive documents (written, of course, in English) unnerving; on at least one occasion Burney came close to seeing the

"Fourth Child of [her] Brain" destroyed before her very eyes by the assiduous continental officers (6). Finally, after surviving a harrowing and eventful Channel crossing, both Burney and her manuscript arrived safely at the ancient and fortified town of Deal, in Kent, on 15 August 1812.

4. For Burney's description of the novel as a "Work" — "PRAY call it a work; I am passed the time to endure being supposed to write a Love-tale" — see *JL*, vii. 104n.

5. The negotiations for the novel's publication by Thomas Longman and his associates (Owen Rees was, on this occasion, the actual representative in the proceedings) were conducted primarily, on the part of the author, by Burney's younger brother Charles. Charles Burney was by this time a trusted veteran when it came to such matters; it had been into his hands, after all, that Burney had entrusted the manuscript of her first published novel. The trio would appear to have done their job well. The deal these representatives eventually presented to Burney for her approval was indeed an advantageous one (*JL*, vii. 157 and 157.n. 5). According to the terms of the final agreement, the author was to receive the bookseller's payment of £1,500 for the first edition of *The Wanderer*; this payment consisted of £500 on delivery of the manuscript, £500 six months after publication, and a further £500 a full calendar year after the novel had appeared in print. Burney was also positioned to receive a total of £1,500 for subsequent editions of the novel (£500 for a second edition and £250 for each later edition through the sixth). The author — who thus hoped to earn as much as £3,000 on the work, and who confessed to her father a frank and clear-sighted awareness that "the real win" of her efforts was practically "dependent upon success" — had every reason to be pleased (*JL*, vii. 195). "Oh my dear Padre", Burney wrote, "if *YOU* approve the work – I shall have good hope" (*JL*, vii. 195).

6. The concerted reaction against *The Wanderer* began with John Wilson Croker's scathing review of the work in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1814 — just one month after the novel's publication. Croker claimed hat he was almost disinclined to believe that the novel was the child of Burney's imagination at all. "If we had not been assured in the title-page", Croker wrote: "that this work had been produced by the same pen as Cecilia, we should have pronounced Madame D"Arblay to be a feeble imitator of the style and manner of Miss Burney — we should have admittedthe flat fidelity of her copy, but we should have lamented the total want of vigour, vivacity, and originality: and, conceding to the fair author . . . some discrimination of character, and some power of writing, we should have strenuously advised her to avoid, in future, the dull mediocrity of a copyist, and to try the flight if her own genius in some work, that should not recall to us in every page the mortifying recollection of excellence which, though she had the good sense to admire it, she never would have the power to rival (Croker in the *Quarterly Review*, xi [April, 1814], 124. The passage quoted above is reprinted as part of Appendix IV in *JL*, vii. 564) .Far from bring concerned with any genuine

stylistic critique, however, Croker reserved the main body of his attack for an assault on the supposed political sympathies of the novel and its author. Calling attention to Burney's protestation in the dedicatory epistle to *The Wanderer* that she had not suffered any "personal disturbance" while living in Napoleonic France, Croker sneered at what he characterized as Burney's attempts to insinuate "her gratitude for the blessings, the tender mercies which France enjoyed under the dominion of that tyger. . . ." The notion that life in France could be anything less than half-crazed with the activities of dangerous political radicals was scorned by Croker. The suggestion that some of these very radicals might themselves be women was, as Croker puts it, "monstrous."

A notice in the *British Critic* that appeared in the same month as Croker's critique acknowledged the great anticipation with which the news of a "new" Burney novel was greeted ("We can scarcely remember," the reviewer began, "an instance, when the public expectation was excited to so high a degree"), but similarly criticized the character of Elinor for displaying an absurd and (it is insinuated) passionate commitment to the cause of female equality that was "now no longer in existence" (*BC* 41, 374). The same reviewer decided that while some few of the novel's characters — particularly Mrs. Ireton — were "drawn with a knowledge of human nature, and kept up with a continual vivacity," and while the plot itself was "well conceived," the novel took too long to get its story moving, and was hence "tedious and tiresome as a whole" (*BC*, 382-86).

The next review to appear was a generally favourable response in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1814. The reviewer early on acknowledged that any effort of Madame d'Arblay's would necessarily command the attention and respect of the public. The central character of Juliet was noted to be "an example of inflexible rectitude, suffering every privation that a fertile imagination could invent, and at length emerging from her miseries with an unsullied reputation, a pure mind, and a reward such as poetical justice should ever bestow as a return for the exercise of the best qualities of our nature" (*GM*, lxxxiv 579). Yet while the reviewer did concede Burney's argument in the prefatory epistle that the novel is not perforce an inappropriate vehicle for "so serious a subject" as the reign of terror in France and its concomitant persecutions, the author's depiction of Elinor Jodrell as "a genuine Republican and Free-thinker" again drew fire. Unwilling to contemplate the possibility that such a strong-minded female character might actually have something important to say to the novel's readers, the reviewer seemed almost wilfully to misread the novel (thinking, perhaps, to "protect" its author) by declaring decisively that Elinor is "exhibited in every light which is calculated to excite abhorrence for those doctrines that, the French themselves now blush to remember, once rendered their nation infamous in the eyes of all dispassionate persons." The political complexities of *The Wanderer* were thus quickly swept to one side as "secondary" and hence unimportant to the novel.

Such early reactions to the novel — particularly the first notice in the *Quarterly Review* — were, as critics such as Doody have argued, no

doubt partially responsible for the dramatic decline in sales of the novel by mid-April 1814. As harsh as such notices were, however, they hardly began to prepare the way for William Hazlitt's grim and ill-intentioned assault on *The Wanderer* and its author in the *Edinburgh Review* in February, 1815. If Burney's publishers had nurtured any hopes of advancing the sales of the novel gradually through word of mouth or even by issuing an abridged or revised edition, Hazlitt's influential review would have been capable single-handedly of putting an end to any such designs. Hazlitt professed praise for "the class of writings" to which *The Wanderer* belongs, but — having specifically singled out Cervantes, Samuel Richardson, and Tobias Smollett as the early masters of the romance novel — he quickly dispensed with any of Burney's claims to professionalism, maturity, and sophistication; she was infrequently and at best only a competent caricaturist, perhaps, but little more. Burney, Hazlitt decided, was a writer

> quite of the old school, a mere common observer of manners, — and also a very woman. It is this last circumstance which form the peculiarity of her writings, and distinguishes them from those masterpieces which we have before mentioned [i.e. the work of Cervantes, Richardson, and Smollett]. She is unquestionably a quick, lively, and accurate observer of persons and things: but she always looks at them with a consciousness of her sex, and in that point of view which it is the particular business and interest of women to observe them.
>
> (*ER*, xxiv, No. 48, 336)

Hazlitt had little use for such a feminine point of view. He moved on in the piece to dismiss women writers in general as having "less muscular power, — less power of continued voluntary attention, — of reason — passion and imagination." One in fact leaves the essay wondering what might possibly have compelled Hazlitt to have condescended to pick up *The Wanderer* in the first place. He concluded his review with the criticism that in the course of her substantial five-volume novel Burney advanced no plot or story, and complained that she offered her readers only outward appearance and "superficial and confined" stereotypes. Hazlitt's final dismissal of the work insinuated that Burney had lost none of her skill as a novelist (she possessed little enough of that when at the height of her powers, he had already made clear, to begin with), but rather that she had wilfully "perverted" that skill: "We are sorry to be compelled to speak so disadvantageously of the work of an excellent and favourite writer: and the more so, as we perceive no decay of talent, but a perversion of it. There is the same admirable spirit in the dialogues, and particularly in the character of Mrs Ireton, Sir Jasper Harrington, and Mr. Giles Arbe, as in her former novels. But these do not fill a hundred pages of the work: and there is nothing else good in it. In the story, which here occupies the attention of the reader almost exclu-

sively, Madame D"Arblay never excelled"(*ER*, xxiv, No. 48, 338). Hazlitt would have his readers believe that Burney had done the ultimate disservice to an entire class of novels which, when left in the more than capable hands of male authors such as Richardson and Smollett, had been getting along just fine, thank you very much. He accused Burney of having transformed the novel into an aberration, a grotesque, a very caricature of its legitimate self: he accused her of perverting and so deforming an entire genre with her superficial, feminine sensibilities.

Works Cited

Bloom, Lillian D. "Fanny Burney's *Camilla*: The Author as Editor." *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*. 82 (1979): 367-93.

British Critic. 41:1 (April, 1814).

Burney, Fanny. *Camilla: or, a Picture of Youth*. Ed. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom. Oxford U P, 1972.

—. *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay)*. Ed. Joyce Hemlow et. al., 12 vols. Oxford U P, 1972-84.

—. *The Wanderer; or Female Difficulties. The Author of Evelina, Cecilia, and Camilla*. 5 vols. London, 1814, First Edition, with holograph manuscript corrections for Third Edition (never published) in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

—. *The Wanderer; or Female Difficulties*. Eds. Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack, and Peter Sabor. Oxford U P, 1991.

Byron, Letters and Journals. Ed. Leslie A. Marchand. London, 1974.

Croker, John Wilson. *Quarterly Review*. XI (April, 1814) 124. Repr. as Appendix IV, "Excerpts from Reviews of *The Wanderer*" in *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*. 7: 564-66.

Doody, Margaret Anne. *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works*. Rutgers U P, 1989.

Edinburgh Review. [Review by William Hazlitt]. 24:48 (February, 1815): 320-38.

Gentleman's Magazine. 84 (June, 1814).

Miller, J. Hillis. "Narrative." *Critical Terms for Literary Study*. Eds. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago U P, 1990. 66-79.

The Last Iron Gate: Negotiating the Incarceral Spaces of John Edgar Wideman's *Brothers and Keepers*

Michael P. Moreno

Michael P. Moreno is a Ph.D. candidate in English at the University of California, Riverside. His areas of interest include urban and suburban studies, American and Latino literature, and spatial theory.

It is an easy thing to indict and forget the criminals who comprise the sub-culture of our prisons in this society, for we have been taught to believe that they have violated the codes of civility and challenged the laws which support the foundation of the republic. And yet, the many economic, cultural, and political veils placed before these disregarded spaces have rendered their inhabitants invisible and irrelevant while running contrary to the correctional philosophy of returning these citizens to the public. Such conditioning, however, allows for prison operators to exploit and de-humanize inmates on multiple levels and through various unchecked policies of torture and manipulation. Resisting this psychological imprisonment by testifying to dehabilitating practices becomes the only means of making one's contained body visible and relevant once again. As such, novels, plays, epistles, poems and other expressive renderings over the past several decades have formed a sub-canon of incarceral scholarship that attests to the forgotten humanity and dignity of the prisoner. Nevertheless, one of the principal entities subjugating and attenuating the prisoner is the material penitentiary structure itself.

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries' American prison industrial complex can be read as an architectural environment which establishes power and dominion over its inhabitants' bodies, identities, and psychologies. By prohibiting prisoners from possessing any autono-

my and stripping them of any rights which might aid in their rehabilitation and return to the public spaces of society, the prison system ensures that its apparatus and its socio-political agenda will not be subverted. If one endeavors to graph the psychological terrain that shapes and informs our everyday lives, it is necessary to consider the architectural sectors we inhabit as well. Space and place — both in the imagined and material worlds — are integrally woven and serve to construct this larger web of personality and character. In his socio-spatial essay entitled "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," Martin Heidegger underscores this point by asserting "[i]f we pay heed to these relations between locations and spaces, between spaces and space, we get a clue to help us in thinking of the relation of [people] and space" (106). Thus, within this ideological framework of psycho-physical geography, the prison complex illustrates how locations of control and restraint function to manipulate those who inhabit its architectural spaces. And yet, even within the dehabilitating anatomy of this complex, the criminalized bodies who dwell in these spaces are challenging their invisibility through producing narratives that resist such control.

According to Norman Johnston, author of *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture,* incarceral sites have historically and specifically been designed to foment brutality and hostility against and among inmates while "[depriving them] of their privacy, dignity, and self esteem" (162). Thus, terminology describing a prison as "correctional" or "rehabilitative" is suspect as the prison system itself functions to inhabit the minds and bodies of prisoners—architecturally, legally, and pragmatically. In so doing, the incarceral apparatus contains convicts long after their arrival — or release — if that day should ever occur. Accordingly, the architectonics of the prison itself has the power to impose psychological constructs of regulation and locations of restraint on its inhabitants through physical barriers and surveillance practices.

Using John Edgar Wideman's memoir *Brothers and Keepers* (1984), I examine the manner and method in which imprisoning spaces of restriction and surveillance kindle acts of resistance by those contained and manipulated within the incarceral architecture, namely, the visitor and the prisoner. The physical locale of the prison mirrors the psychological composition of the inmate, thus, placing not only the prisoner but more especially the visitor in the precarious position of accepting his/her imprisonment or resisting it. The visitor traverses back and forth across the threshold of the penitentiary, temporarily detained by its spatial system. For the visitor, experiencing the binary world of freedom and confinement fosters pockets of resistance that can be powerfully expressed through a social critique of the ordeal. However, for the male prisoner, there exists two possible avenues for survival within the penitentiary: one is participating and competing within the hyper-patriarchy that works to establish masculine dominance and control; the other is engaging in the art of narrative resistance which functions not only to redeem a sense of identity for the prisoner but also to provide

him with a voice outside of the prison walls. In considering these options, it is the narrative production of resistance which is the viable form of power and integrity accessible to both the sojourning visitor and the contained prisoner, invisible bodies who share confining spaces and endure similar ill-treatment from the guards.

As a social critique of incarceral terrain, the visitors' and the prisoners' narratives of resistance assail the fallacy that prisons are psychologically rehabilitative or that such prison complexes are accurately being represented in larger cultural and media circles. More importantly, the narrative production of resistance castigates the discriminatory juridical system that robs bodies of their agency and renders their voices silent. Negotiating this psychological-architectural apparatus within the prison industrial complex also calls into question the intent of contemporary urban and suburban designs and utility of space across the United States. Sectors and structures which have traditionally been open and public are now rapidly becoming closed and monitored, with and without public consent. Indeed, since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the socio-political zeitgeist across the nation has accelerated towards one of containment, surveillance, and restriction of civil liberties. Reincarnated Cold War-like policies, such as the P.A.T.R.I.O.T. Act, for example, have taken shape in the United States in an effort to demonstrate the Bush Administration's commitment to curtailing unchecked mobility and engagement from those within U.S. borders. Accordingly, the prison industrial complex as a site for disempowerment and totalizing control cannot be fully expounded without analyzing the socio-political landscape of public American society as a parallel location.

The relationship between places of incarceration and spaces of psychology has a long evolutionary history within the western world. One of the most notable architectural machines that linked a material structure with the subjugation of human behavior was Jeremy Bentham's 18th century prison: the Panopticon Penitentiary.[1] This polygonal apparatus would ideally function as a "'glass bee-hive,'" or as Bentham suggests, "'a bee-hive without a drone'" (qtd. in Semple 116). The genius of the Panopticon was that it would allow prison keepers to "[see] without being seen . . . [for] the persons to be inspected should always feel themselves as if under inspection, at least as standing a great chance of being so . . ." (Bentham 43). This would occur whether or not the prisoner was actually being observed at that moment in time. It was the ubiquity of surveillance, its imaginableness, that would make it possible for this "laboratory of power" (Foucault 363), as Michel Foucault calls it, "to penetrate [effectively and efficiently] into the [prisoners'] behavior" (364). Although Bentham's actual design never became a standard template for incarceral architecture, his psychological intentions of control, surveillance, and alienation have manifested themselves throughout the contemporary American prison system. However, this panoptic agenda, that is, a deliberate system of thought through which bodies are con-

tained and controlled by way of an architectural design, has transformed not only the inmates but also those who come into contact with penitentiary spaces, thereby eliciting either compliance or resistance from these bodies. Indeed, fathoming the expanse of the prison complex's psycho-geography from the vantage point of the visitor can only be fully comprehended and synthesized through an exploration of the masculine prison spaces as experienced by the prisoner himself.

As the prisoner who is receiving his visiting brother, it is Robby Wideman, sentenced in 1976 to life imprisonment for committing armed robbery and murder, who belongs to a world far more entangled and dangerous to inhabit, for the social geography of prison is shaped by the strict codes and principles of a ruthless and violent cultural system of dominance and control: the hyper-patriarchy. This system of masculinity is predicated upon the subordination of "weaker" male inmates. Enforcing a program of subordination ensures higher positions of status and power for stronger, more dominant males within the spaces of the penitentiary.[2] Since there is no guarantee that these homosocial positions will remain permanent, acts of violence via gang/rape, threats, fights, or extortion are commonplace and committed in an effort not only to survive, but to climb higher in social rank and ensure one's continued survival in the incarceral hyper-masculine organization of prison.[3] After all, "[t]he higher the prisoner is in the hierarchy, the better is his standard of living. The lower . . . the more susceptible he becomes to abuses at the hands of other prisoners" (Sabo, Kupers, and London 8). Engaging in the power game of hyper-patriarchy becomes a method to resist disappearing in the cracks and crevices of the prison walls and a means for reacquiring an identity—however emasculating it may actually be. As such, Robby realizes in *Brothers and Keepers* that only "[t]he strong survive [in this masculine hegemony]. The ones who are strong and *lucky*" (Wideman 23).

However, to survive in this climate, the male prisoner must perform his masculinity on a daily basis by exhibiting physical and mental prowess, for any sign of uncertainty, fear, or emotion on the part of the prisoner will invite not only prisoners but also guards to unravel and dissolve his delicate psyche.[4] This performance of masculinity occurs in all spaces of the prison locale and ensures to some degree that one's footing within the *chain-gang* of command does not falter. Moreover, the continual "surveillance [both by prisoner and guards] additionally magnifies all performance of self, putting all action under a microscope of scrutiny or the perceived magnification that one is constantly *watched*" (Holmberg 78) whether he is actually being observed or not. The inherent paranoia present within the prison hyper-patriarchy is the Panopticon at work. As a male prisoner caught within this debasing system of contained masculine aggression, Robby is cognizant of the destructive outcome in playing the prison games with prisoners and guards; nevertheless, he recognizes that maneuvering on the periphery of these social circles or positioning oneself outside of the regimented identities estab-

lished by the hyper-patriarchy would likely place him in jeopardy. "You were supremely eligible for a bullet if the guards couldn't press your button," Robby narrates. "If they hadn't learned how to manipulate you, if you couldn't be bought or sold, if you weren't into drugs and sex games, if you weren't cowed or depraved, then you were a threat" (Wideman 82-83). The pressure to maintain the hegemony of the prison, with the weakest of the prisoners at the bottom of the structure, the strongest at the top, and the guards puppeteering the entire design, is difficult to resist or to dismantle.

Nevertheless, Robby Wideman avoids, for the most part, losing his position of power within the hyper-patriarchy by opting to work within the prison hospital, or the "Bug Center" as he calls it (Wideman 232). Because he has been in the prison for some time and because of his physical muscularity—"his necessity for survival" (219)— he secures his masculinity and his position. Thus, Robby is able to navigate and negotiate his way around the circular and predictable games of hyper-patriarchy. In this separate space of the Bug Center, Robby is able to critique the medical abuses in the prison system. In the Center, the prisoners become experiments for the prison doctors and receptacles of random drugs and medication, elements that do little for the prisoners except dehabilitate and manipulate them. "It's pitiful, really," Robby relates, "cause they be needing help and ain't nobody round here can do for them. Just keep em chained up like animals in that funky ward. . . . Quiet most of the time, though. Dudes is so drugged up they be sleeping they lives away. Gallons of Thorzine. Shoot em up. No problems" (233, 235). Although he remains, at times, within the shadow of the prison's hyper-patriarchy, Robby's removal relegates him simply to an observer of sanctioned criminality within the medical ward. However, it is *Brothers and Keepers* that eventually functions as his mouthpiece to these atrocities.

The notion that the hyper-patriarchy as a productive and effective means for resistance within the incarceral spaces of the penitentiary is simply a fallacy, a ruse. Participating in it or not, the prisoner is still controlled by the guards and by the ubiquity of stone walls, steel cages, piercing whistles, and phallic batons. The hyper-patriarchy offers the illusion of empowerment while further debasing and constricting what remains of the prisoner's identity. As a *meta-prisoner*, Robby Wideman is the guilty victim of a system and a society that stigmatizes him as an outsider and a threat to the dominant discourse of the privileged race and class. I call Robby a "meta-prisoner" because of his unique status within *Brothers and Keepers*. Although he is still a prisoner and subject to both the rules of the hyper-patriarchy and the regimentation of the keepers, Robby, along with his older brother, are constructing a language, a counter-narrative, which allows him to recover an identity and a persona unobtainable in the higher circles of the hyper-patriarchy. To function as a meta-prisoner is to move beyond the architectural and psychological spaces of the penitentiary and recognize and remember the

humanity of oneself. This recognition in the self is the only viable form of rehabilitation for the prisoner. Robby is black, male, poor, unemployed, and aggressive, characteristics that have marked him suspect in the eyes of the public.[5] As such, after enduring a kangaroo trial in which the primary objective was to "get them a nigger . . . [no matter] if it was the right one or wrong one" (Wideman 154), Robby realizes that the injustice done to him and on the outside would be double on the inside of the prison, for now

> [he] understood that he was sentenced to die. That all sentences were death sentences. If he didn't buckle under, the guards would do everything in their power to kill him. If he succumbed to the pressure to surrender dignity, self-respect, control over his own mind and body [and manhood], then he'd become a beast, and what good in him would die. . . . The question for him became: How long could he survive in spite of the death sentence? Nothing he did would guarantee his safety. . . . Yet to maintain sanity, to minimize their opportunities to destroy him, he had to be constantly vigilant. . . . Vigilance is the price of survival. Beneath the vigilance, however, is a gnawing awareness boiling in the pit of your stomach. . . . Your life is not in your hands.
>
> (83-84)

Robby's guilt or innocence is not at the heart of John Edgar Wideman's exploration of prison culture; rather, Robby's life-long conditioning on the urban streets, the choices and opportunities (albeit limited for a poor young black man) available to him, and the inevitable directions he took are a part of a complex socio-economic system that has always disenfranchised the working class African American in the United States. In terms of the legal system, the belief that a black male carries within him a burden of criminal guilt continues to influence jury verdicts and court sentencing. In an 1994 interview with Ishmael Reed, Wideman asserts that blackness has always been associated with crime both in the popular imagination and media representation and by the acts of the political-legal system of this country (Reed 132). In a climate of racism, punishment and censure appear to be the effects to any courses of action undertaken by the African American citizen. Moreover, Wideman believes

> that it's that sense of doom, that sense of anticipation, in young people today that causes such anger and has separated them so absolutely from society, from the generation before them. That sense that you are fated to be a criminal, that you are a criminal already. . . . [F]or generations in this country there have been people, mired in class, who have always been beset by oppres-

> sion and by poverty and the absolutely predictable ravages of the justice system.
>
> (Reed 132)

Given the systemic economic and political abandonment of poor blacks, the urban spaces in which a young man such as Robby is fostered can have damaging effects on his personality and character. Moreover, the psychological and unethical battering often leaves an inner city urban dweller with few options for survival or with a lack of desire to pursue them. Accordingly, tangible role models become those whose lives profit from criminal behavior or are those who are eventually cut down in the street or disillusioned by the abuse of local authority. For every dweller who escapes the ravages of this urban prison, there are a vast majority who cannot.

Confronted by the ubiquity of police harassment in the public and private spaces of his neighborhood, the legacy of impoverished public schools surveilled like prisons (Wideman 116), and the hypocrisy of social workers at youth centers who "[lived] off those kids" in order to keep "their little jobs and their little titles" (Wideman 138), Robby recognizes that there is a deliberate imbalance in the system that shows little favor to the African American, but is engineered to sustain the dominance of the white hegemony. As such, "[t]he justice system is set up in one sense to keep us separate, to control those parts of the population that offer a threat to property, to the status quo. . . . As long as that's the case and as long as far too many black people fall into that class, then the statistics are going to be the same" (Reed 132), and minorities, particularly African American males, will continue to fill the prison cells of penitentiaries across the country.

In *Brothers and Keepers*, John Edgar Wideman explores the nucleus of incarceral psycho-scapes through a series of visitations with his younger brother Robby. The fictionalized version of Robby's conviction and incarceration appears in *Hiding Place*, the second novel in the *Homewood Books*, a trilogy that was published in 1981. Also, in "Solitary," one of the chapters in *Damballah* (the first book in the trilogy), Wideman fictionally represents the psychological and physical trauma of prison visits made by a mother to her son. As a celebrated author and professor of literature, John Edgar Wideman has acquired an impressive catalog of achievements and lauds over his tenure as a scholar and literary artist. Having won membership into Phi Beta Kappa and a Rhodes Scholarship to attend Oxford University in the early 1960s, Wideman turned to writing and teaching as a means for cultivating a distinct voice within the African American community. A two time recipient of the PEN/Faulkner Award (*Sent for You Yesterday*, 1983; *Philadelphia Fire*, 1990) and a two time nominee for the National Book Award (*Brothers and Keepers*, 1984; *Fatheralong: A Meditation on Fathers and Sons, Race, and Society*, 1995), Wideman recognizes the integral role family and place hold in expressing one's experiences artistically. *Brothers and Keepers*, particu-

larly, had an adverse effect on Wideman and transformed the notion of family for him as the memoir underscored and reanimated identities with which he had become disconnected. In a 1988 interview by James W. Coleman, Wideman asserts that there was a multi-leveled design for creating *Brothers and Keepers*. Most importantly, the memoir was to bring to light the circumstances and conditions Robby and other inmates were encountering within the prison industrial complex, in short, to expose the system of this patriarchal sub-culture. Also, the work redefined what family and community actually meant. Why could one be so successful in life, and yet have one's sibling sink into the isolated and forgotten recesses of the penitentiary? In the interview, Wideman states

> I tried to say [this] in my book, but . . . There is a whole issue of what happens when anybody, any black person in this country, gains a skill, gains an education, gains some sort of power . . .. How does that individual success relate to the fact that most people are far from successful in those economic terms, and how does success perpetuate the system that is in fact oppressing so many black people? . . . Are there ways to be successful without perpetuating the class and racial hierarchy that produced this? (Coleman 78)

Indeed, these desires to bring his brother, Robby, out of the incarceral spaces of crime and punishment and reconfigure him back into the Wideman family and society at large marks *Brothers and Keepers* as a testimonial to the humanity and resilience of prisoners and their marginalized family members.

The non-fictional narrative itself functions as a multi-narrative, a shared resistance to violations committed against both brothers: John, the author and the visitor, and Robby Wideman, the prisoner and second narrator via John's hand. This ingenious narrative pendulation between the two brothers further illustrates that the production of resistance can be both a mutual exploration for a collective, familial identity and a paired critique of the prison industrial complex itself. This is certainly the case in the design of Wideman's book.[6] "I wanted my voice and my brother's voice, our lives, to come together," Wideman states in a 1995 interview, "so that you really couldn't say that one of us was successful and the other not" (Smith 142). Sharing this narrative space within the text underscores the writer's ability to affect an emphatic literary voice from a disembodying locus of silence. In *Brothers and Keepers*, it is the visitor and the prisoner who recover their language within the design of a counter-narrative. Accordingly, what slowly evolves is not only an intricate mapping of the prisoner's world, but also a greater understanding of how Wideman himself, as a visitor, as an African American man, as a writer, becomes a temporary captive of the penitentiary during these sojourns. Significantly, the oscillation between liv-

ing in public spaces with his wife and children and visiting enclosed places which his brother inhabits begins to take a toll on Wideman as he devises new methods for negotiating these disparate topographies. Reflecting on this experience, Wideman writes,

> Visiting prison is like going to a funeral parlor. Both situations demand unnatural responses, impose a peculiar discipline on the visitor. The need to hold on wars with the need to let go, and the visitor is stuck in the middle, doing both, doing neither. You are mourning, bereaved but you pretend the shell in the coffin is somehow connected with the vital, breathing person you once knew. . . . You submit to the unnatural setting controlled by faceless intermediaries, even though you understand the setting has been contrived not so much to allay your grief, your sense of loss but to profit from them, mock them, and mock the one you need to see.
>
> (185)

To understand the full measure of what he is experiencing, John Edgar Wideman must establish new discursive modes through which to interpret the surfaces and textures of the penitentiary.

Attentive to this imbalanced system of masculinity and the ruse of resistance within the topography of the penitentiary, Wideman himself witnesses as the prisoner and the prison visitor morph into agentless bodies whose problematic positions force them to resist the keepers' containment. Likewise, simultaneously and unconsciously, the visitor resists the prisoner. Although Wideman "want[s] to learn from [the prisoners'] eyes," as he maintains, to "identify with their plight," he does not "want to forget [that he is still] an outsider, that these cages and walls are not [the visitor's] home. . . . [For] the insecurity bred by the towering walls incite [him] to resent the [prisoners'] eyes" (47). Nevertheless, through the eyes of the keepers, Wideman appears *guilty* by prisoner association, guilty for wanting this contact, thus incurring the same reception and treatment given to each prisoner.

While walls, bars, cameras, and watchtowers safeguard ubiquitous uniformity and supervision, both the daily routine of constraint within the cell system and the hyper-masculine power struggles among the prisoners simultaneously serve to reshape and relocate the inmate — and by extension, the visitor—within a sphere of paralysis, thus, transmuting any given prisoner into an automaton whose very mind becomes a penitentiary. According to prison architectural critic Thomas A. Markus, "[this] infliction of necessary suffering [both physical and psychological] is . . . seen, though rarely acknowledged, as a way for society to seek retribution. [Prison b]uildings therefore need to reinforce the control, surveillance, discomfort, alienation and loss of privacy which such a regime requires" (16). Such rules and regulations used to restrain prisoners, however, are easily transformed or amended by the

caprice of the keepers in the Widemans' testimonies, for it is through daily edicts and pronouncements that panoptic authority, control manifested from architecture and psychology, garners its power and agency. Wideman contends that "[i]nside the [prison] walls nothing is certain, nothing can be taken for granted except the arbitrary exercise of absolute power. Rules engraved in stone one day will be superseded the next" (183). As such, the only thing which is certain is that the hierarchy of power and control which subjugates not only prisoners but also their visitors is unremovable, unrelenting, and unchecked. In the end, "[w]hat counts are the unwritten rules" that debase the visitor and emasculate, rather than rehabilitate, the prisoner (Wideman 43). Wideman, socially constructed as the liberated outsider who must carefully navigate his way through the panoptic system, is exposed to similar psychological and physical violations to which prisoners themselves are subject on a daily basis.

The pivotal scene of the visitors' room, which takes place early on in *Brothers and Keepers*, outlines the metamorphosis a visitor must endure to become a temporary prisoner of the penitentiary. After having undergone the rigorous and humiliating inspection that prefaces any incarceral visit, Wideman contemplates the space of the visitors' room while waiting to meet with his brother Robby. This octagonal chamber, replete with "a ceiling twice a high as an ordinary room" and "four perverse, fly-speckled, curtainless windows admitting neither light nor air" (Wideman 50) defies tangible form or function. Its dimensions and parameters do not betray its intention. This is a transitional space, the threshold in which the lines of demarcation between the visitor and the visited are blurred. Here, behind "the last iron gate" (191), the outsider comes as close to the nucleus of the prison as the prisoner comes to the outside world.

If anything, "[Wideman] feel[s] like a bug in the bottom of a jar." However, "[a]t least insects could see through the glass walls," he contends, "at least they could flutter or hop or fly" (50). Under the austere panoptic surveillance of the keepers, Wideman and his family sit and wait, slowly losing their notion of time, their agency, their mobility, and their autonomy in the atmosphere of stained furniture, peeling walls, organic graffiti, and silence. "The kids clearly don't belong here," Wideman contemplates. "But whose kids belong here? Who fits the image this room imposes on anybody who must see it?" (51). The pain, the degradation, and the discomfort the visitors' room seems to generate reminds Wideman that his role as visitor must also be one of attestant or recorder, for the "documentation of the systematic abuse visitors must undergo from start to finish when they enter the prison" (51) is only a small part of certifying the human rights violations and emasculating stratagems which take place throughout the concealed spaces and corridors of the larger complex. In these systems of containment (the cells, the showers, the mess hall, the yard, the hole), "the keepers [are able to] constrict space and limit freedom, [and] as the inmates are

forced to conform to these mandates, an identity is fashioned for the prisoners. Guarding the inmates' bodies turns out to be a license for defining what a prisoner is" (Wideman 188). Like the prisoners themselves, the visitor is now subject to the constraints of the apparatus, for his/her identity and character are transformed into the unwelcome guest whose presence is merely an disturbance to the daily routines of executing incarceral power.

Despite the reality that "jail can be a stone jungle" (Wideman 104), in the course of witnessing and transcribing the experiences of the visitors' room and the geography in which his younger brother negotiates, Wideman surmises that there is a way to defy, albeit momentarily, the architectural constraints surrounding him; there is a method for curtailing the force penetrating from beyond the last iron gate. He observes that it is not the numerous "doors or their thickness or composition or the specific route from the visitors' annex to the prison" that is actually immobilizing him, nor is it "the clangorous steps and drafty, dank passageways and nightmare-size locks and keys, or the number of guards frisking [him] with their eyes or the crash of steel on steel ringing in [his] ears" (51). Rather, Wideman begins to understand that what he is producing in his head, the notions of imprisonment, the pictures of incarceration, is actually what is gaining control over his psychology. Physically, Wideman is still free to leave the prison at the end of the visit, unlike Robby who remains permanently incarcerated — body and mind — within the architecture of the prison and the hyper-patriarchal system which organizes it. This is the intention of the visitors' room, and the ultimate design of the panoptic prison structure. "That image," he writes, "that idea is what defines the special power of the prison over those who enter it" (Wideman 51). Accordingly, being cognizant of this power is the first movement toward asserting a form of autonomy and consciousness. Reconnecting with his brother reminds him of his role as the visitor and aids in affording him some measure of agency with which to navigate the time and space of the sojourn in the penitentiary. Wideman rhetorically addresses his brother regarding this silent and temporary form of empowerment, thus sharing in the knowledge that there is an operable method of resistance to the material and psychological incarceration of not only the hyper-patriarchy but also the prison system itself:

> Until I understood what was being done [to me], the first few moments at the threshold of the visiting lounge always confused me. . . . And it's no simple matter in a noisy room crowded with strangers, in the short space of an hour or so, after a separation of months or years, to convince you and convince myself that yes, yes we are people and yes, we have something to say to each other, something that will rise above the shouting, the fear, the chaos around us. Something that, though whispered, can be heard. Can connect us again.
>
> (52)

Although Wideman, at each visit, quietly contemplates radical resistance in the form of fighting and escaping with his brother, he resigns himself each time to the "vinyl-cushioned couches" (Wideman 191) of the visitors' room and quietly reconnects with Robby since this is his ultimate purpose. The authoritative force emanating from the surrounding spaces is difficult to defy and usually impossible to ignore, for "each visit's rooted in denial, compromise, a sinking feeling of failure. . . . The last gate. Sometimes it never swings all the way open on its hinges" (191). Between the two brothers and the ubiquitous keepers, there is the unconscious space of entangled agency and incarceration; however, if the visit is to transpire, then Wideman and his brother must sacrifice this external agency and succumb to the untempered rule of the keepers who guard the panoptic terrain in which they all inhabit.

The author suggests that "[a]wareness, consciousness, no matter how painful, are the only tools [one] has to work with," for this is one's "only advantage in the game the keepers have designed so they always win" (190). In so doing, the very text of *Brothers and Keepers*, as a narrative production of resistance, becomes, for Wideman and for Robby, a language of defiance against the over-arching effects of architectural subjugation, as well as the only expression of rehabilitation and reconciliation made available to them. Cognizance and then narrative action is the Janus-faced response to incarceral terror. Harnessing this power, the imprisoned inhabitant at once speaks through the iron gate into the interior core of the penitentiary and back out again to the public society beyond the material and psychological walls of containment. The expressions manifest themselves in multiple forms and through numerous bodies and voices. "The voices are always there," Wideman writes in his introduction to Mumia Abu-Jamal's *Live from Death Row*, "if we discipline ourselves to pick them out. Listen to them, to ourselves, to the best way we've managed to write and say and dance and paint and sing" (Abu-Jamal, "Introduction" xxxvii). It is here in the critical space of social expression that one is able to recover one's humanity in the face of iron gates and stone citadels.

The rendering of the prisoner's invisibility has generated a growing corpus of writerly voices that resist the dehumanizing and exiling of bodies incarcerated throughout the country. Accordingly, the prison narrative has been manifested through multiple genres over the past few decades and continues to emerge as a powerful vehicle for rendering the prisoner and his/her family visible and audible. The multi-genre narratives are accessible through plays (Miguel Pinero's *Short Eyes*, Kosmond Russell's *The Visit*); poetry (Leonard Peltier's *Prison Writings*, Raul Salinas' *Un Trip through the Mind Jail y Otras Excursions*, Etheridge Knight's *Poems from Prison*); juvenile literature (Walter Dean Myers *Monster*); fictional works (Walter Mosley's *Always Outnumbered, Always Outgunned*, Chester Himes' *Yesterday Will Make You Cry*); non-fictional works and testimonies (*Soledad_Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*, Mumia Abu-Jamal's *Live from Death Row*, Asha Bandele's *The Prison-*

er's Wife). Indeed, this diversity of expressions testifies to the power, vitality, and resilience of a prisoner's voice and identity.

The emergence of this voice simultaneously forces us to examine not only the prison industrial complex but also the socio-political apparatus which free citizens occupy. Thomas A. Markus suggests that "any critique of the prison today is a critique of society. And any prescription for the prison of tomorrow is a prescription for tomorrow's society" (18). In its social and political form, the penitentiary complex has a paradoxical function. While it remains invisible to the public eye by warehousing criminals and media-generated monsters behind iron gates, a significant portion of the economy is dependent upon its very existence and proliferation. Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans maintain that large sectors — both public and private — stand to profit from constructing and operating prisons. "Prisons are seen as a source of jobs in construction, local vendors and prison staff as well as a source of tax revenues. An average prison has a staff of several hundred employees and an annual payroll of several million dollars. Like any industry, the prison economy needs raw materials. In this case the raw materials are prisoners. The prison industrial complex can grow only if more and more people are incarcerated even if crime rates drop" (7). The fact that prison construction is on the rise while rehabilitative programs for the incarcerated which fund adequate medical care, vocational training, or educational opportunities have been drastically severed in the past several years is a sign that the American society does not want criminals to be reformed and returned to the public sphere; rather, it prefers to keep them incarcerated, ensuring that their constant separation and debasement will render them non-existent — thus, unproblematic.[7] After all, they *are* criminals who need to be punished for what they did, what they are, and what they represent to the rest of society: a symptom of democracy. Naturally, this societal stance has grave implications since the majority of inmates within the prison industrial complex are under-class minorities.[8]

However, the idea that the privileged sectors of society can remain untouched by a silenced and incarceral nation is a misconception since contemporary cities and communities in the United States are slowly mirroring the panoptic design of the prison system. From the Panopticon's inception over two centuries ago, architect Jeremy Bentham intended that his design of surveillance and containment not be limited to the penitentiary, but manifest itself in multiple social spaces. As such, architectural planning in the United States is following Bentham's call in light of media inflated crime stories, the growing disappearance of the middle-class, the September 11th terrorist attacks, and the multiple forms of demographic terror aimed against marginalized races and lower-classes.[9]

Mike Davis, a socio-architectural critic, further contends, "[t]his obsession with physical security systems, and, collaterally, with the architectural policing of social boundaries, has become a zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environ-

ment of the 1990s" (*City* 223). Fueling society's fear and paranoia of criminals infiltrating both public and private sectors of communities and neighborhoods, politicians seeking to maintain their lifestyles of power, and mainstream media outlets desiring to preserve a large consumer body convince the nation that criminality is synonymous with under-class minority status. Moreover, by suggesting that minorities threaten hegemonic stability, political leaders and the media sanction the construction of gated communities, panoptic urban spaces, freeway barriers, and more prison complexes.

In the nation's drive to garner safety and security by enabling politicians and media circles to define the sources and remedies of social violence, by permitting the military forces to police our domestic spaces,[10] and by allowing minority men to become permanent fixtures within the prison industrial complex, Americans undercut the power of equality and freedom in this country and undermine bodies who resist the storms of injustice. However, if "'[t]he degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering the prisons,'" (qtd. in Abu-Jamal 75) as Dostoyevsky suggests, then the United States of the 21st century will continue to proliferate what Mike Davis calls "the militarization of the [. . .] landscape" (*Ecology* 361), a geography of brutality, injustice, and panoptic control, which will leave little space even for fleeting moments of resistance. The abuses this past year of Iraqi prisoners being held at Abu Ghraib prison embarrassed the U.S. government while disgusting the American public. Indeed, the Abu Ghraib debacle illustrates the systematic negligence of a prisoner's humanity and treatment because it signifies "the natural consequence of putting prisoner care in the hands of poorly trained people working for a system that operates behind closed doors, accountable only to the bottom line" (Thayer 13). However, when there is an outcry from American prisons, the pleas fall upon the deaf and unforgiving ears of the same American public.

And yet, there are means for counteracting this socio-political silencing and for resurrecting the body destroyed by a social death of incarceration. The writing itself creates connections between isolated individuals while building back the community that has been lost. Narrative productions of resistance, such as Wideman's *Brothers and Keepers*, serve not only to unveil the abuses within the prison apparatus but also to illustrate to those outside of the penitentiary walls that a free and open society is not defined by its gated communities, security cameras, hyper-surveillance malls, or private security forces, but by the consciousness and cognizance that lead to effectual resistance.

Notes

1. The design of Bentham's Panopticon is quite familiar to students and scholars of social-architecture. According to Janet Semple, "[the structure] was to be circular or polygonal in shape with the cells around the

circumference. At the core would be a central inspection area of galleries and lodge, disjoined from the main building, linked to the outer perimeter only by stairways, none of the floors or ceilings coinciding. From this lodge, authority could exercise a constant surveillance while remaining itself invisible" (116).

2. For a detailed hierarchial scale depicting the breakdown and discussion of dominant prisoners, prisoners with resources, marginalized prisoners, and stigmatized prisoners, see Sabo Kupers, and London, 7-8.

3. Prison rape, whether committed by one man or a gang of them, complicates issues of sexuality and orientation. According to Sabo, Kupers and London, "[t]he act of prison rape is clearly tied to the constitution of intermale dominance hierarchies. Rapes between male prisoners are often described as if they occurred between men and women and in terms of master and slave" (11). Therefore, the act itself is a measure by which to demean another male prisoner and assert power and control over his body and identity through forced participation in a feminized role of the penetrated. The one who performs the penetrating, whether out of violence, control, gratification, does so in the capacity of the male dominator or penetrator, thus furthering the inequality among imprisoned men and "constructing masculine power hierarchies" (Messerschmidt 68). Since heterosexuality, an expression integral to hegemonic masculinity, has been denied to the male prison population, it extends the level of punishment the prison industrial complex enforces. New methods of sexuality must, therefore, be created in this hyper-patriarchy. Nonetheless, this raises a series of questions as to whether intermale sexual relations in the prison system are "authentic" forms of heterosexual expression or simply coded forms of homosexuality resulting from sexual oppression within incarceral spaces.

4. Male prison guards enjoy a privileged role within the apparatus of hyper-masculinity. They take advantage of this system by setting certain prisoners loose on each other to fight, or they can punish them by placing particular prisoners into cells with known rapists. Such things are done to divide prisoners, obtain information, punish, or enforce order (Sabo, Kupers, and London 12). This ensures that the hyper-masculine structure designed by the male prisoners themselves ultimately is controlled by the guards, the keepers of incarceral identities.

5. It is significant to point out that the injustice done to Robby Wideman, a marginalized black man, extends to many other individuals who are not white middle-class members of society. In his formidable book *Always Running: La Vida Loca: Gang Days in LA,* author Luis J. Rodriguez posits "[c]riminality in this country is a class issue. Many of those warehoused in overcrowded prisons can be properly called 'criminals of want,' those who've been deprived of the basic necessities of life and therefore forced into so-called criminal acts to survive. Many of them just don't have the means to buy their 'justice.' They are members of a social stratum which includes welfare mothers, housing project resi-

dents, immigrant families, the homeless and unemployed" (10).
6. Addressing the process of creating *Brothers and Keepers*, Wideman, in a May 1997 interview with Bonnie TuSmith, states "[t]here are places [in the text] where the author is trying to imagine what it might be like to be somebody else. It tells you that. So that the techniques and the force of fiction enter, and are represented in, what is a nonfictional work" (TuSmith 215).
7. According to Leah Thayer, in addition to the rise in prison construction for male prisoners, the number of incarcerated women is rapidly on the rise: 181,000 women which is a 750 % increase since 1980. 1980 is also the year that "marks the beginning of the prison privatization trend and the rise of colossal for-profit prison contractors such as Correctional Medical Services (CMS) . . . Prison Health Services, Correctional Corporation of American (CCA), and the Global Expertise in Outsourcing Group" (10). Collectively these corporations receive a multi-billion dollar profit which makes this industry very lucrative to investors. As a result, Thayer argues that corporations have now assumed responsibility for most of the functions within the prison industrial complex, "a trend that has fueled what prisoner advocates say is an epidemic of preventable illness, unnecessary suffering and premature death among women prisoners [particularly]" (10). Despite the deprivation of basic liberties for prisoners, they, nevertheless, deserve to be treated humanely and with dignity, Thayer maintains (10).
8. Marc Mauer reports that "increases in incarceration rates disproportionately affect poor and minority males. Nearly half of all prison inmates in the United States are now African American males, even though they constitute only 6 percent of the total national population. Another 9 percent are Hispanic males, also disproportionate to their percentage of the population. Overall, one of every fourteen adult black males is locked up on any given day" (49). These statistics continue to increase, thus demonstrating the continued disparity between the national population and the representation of ethnic groups incarcerated. Likewise, Mumia Abu-Jamal states that "African-Americans, a mere 11 percent of the national population, compose about 40 percent of the death row population" in the United States today (5). Underscoring this phenomenon, political critic Angela Davis posits, "[w]hile cloaking itself within the bourgeois aura of universality — imprisonment was supposed to cut across all class lines, as crimes were to be defined by the act, not the perpetrator — the prison has actually operated as an instrument of [racial and] class domination, a means of prohibiting the have-nots from the haves" (45).
9. Reconstructed urban spaces and mass produced suburban locations are being planned with security measures in mind. Such measures entail hyper-surveillance instruments and barriers which complicate issues of civil liberties, privacy, and mobility. Whereas Benthamite surveillance operated on the premise of a central panoptic authority, new urban and suburban spaces in the United States are utilizing a "decen-

tered Panopticon" (Whitaker 140) policy — or multi-centered — in which surveillance and control over spaces are being relegated to private companies and corporations. Mounting digital cameras on top of skyscrapers, in parking lots, and over lobby areas; privatizing public spaces like parks, plazas, or pedestrian walkways; using private security police to control areas; walling off neighborhoods and communities with freeways, fences, or barriers are a few signs of psycho-architectural control manifesting throughout the developed topography of the United States today. Freedom and security, features highly coveted and prized within this nation, unfortunately, are not compatible.

10. According to Robert Dreyfuss, political writer for *Rolling Stone* magazine, "the Pentagon will announce plans to create a new regional commander in chief (in military jargon, CINC, pronounced 'sink') for the U.S., heading a new unit that would be dubbed the Northern Command. . . . Now there is clamor for far more involvement [than participating in border security on the War on Drugs campaign], and uniformed soldiers are more and more in evidence [since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001]. 'It makes me nervous,' says former Sen. Gary Hart, who co-chaired last year's high-level commission on national security and terrorism, 'any time the regular forces start talking about a homeland security'" (qtd. in Dreyfuss 33, 79).

Works Cited

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. *Live from Death Row.* Reading, MA, et al: Addison-Wesly Publishing Company, 1995.

Bentham, Jeremy. *The Panopticon Writings.* Ed. Miriam Božovič. New York: Verso, 1995.

Coleman, John W. "Interview with John Edgar Wideman." *Conversations with John Edgar Wideman.* Ed. Bonnie TuSmith. Jackson, MS: U P of Mississippi, 1998. 62-80.

Davis, Angela Y. *The Angela Y. Davis Reader.* Ed. Joy James. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990.

Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles.* New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

—. *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998.

Dreyfuss, Robert. "Spying on Ourselves." *Rolling Stone.* 892. 28 (Mar 2002): 31-33, 79.

Foucault, Michel. "Panopticism." *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory.* Ed. Neil Leach. New York: Routledge, 1997. 356-367.

Goldberg, Eve, and Linda Evans. *The Prison Industrial Complex and the Global Economy.* San Francisco: AK Press Distribution, 1998.

Heidegger, Martin. "Building, Dwelling, Thinking." *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Ed. Neil Leach. New York: Routledge, 1997. 100-109.

Holmberg, Carl Bryan. "The Culture of Transgression: Initiations into the Homosociality of a Midwestern State Prison." *Prison Masculinities*. Eds. Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001. 78-92.

Johnston, Norman. *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture*. Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2000.

Mauer, Marc. "Crime, Politics, and Community Since the 1990s." *Prison Masculinities*. Eds. Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001. 46-53.

Markus, Thomas A. "Can History Be a Guide to the Design of Prisons?" *Architecture of Incarceration*. Ed. Iona Spens. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Messerschmidt, James W. "Masculinities, Crimes, and Prison." *Prison Masculinities*. Eds. Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001. 67-72.

Reed, Ishmael. "John Edgar Wideman." *Conversations with John Edgar Wideman*. Ed. Bonnie TuSmith. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1998. 126-138.

Rodriguez, Luis J. *Always Running: La Vida Loca: Gang Days in L.A.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Sabo, Don, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London. "Gender and the Politics of Punishment." *Prison Masculinities*. Ed. Don Sabo, Terry A. Kupers, and Willie London. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001. 3-18.

Semple, Janet. *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary*. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1993.

Smith, Patricia. "Getting Under Our Skin." *Conversations with John Edgar Wideman*. Ed. Bonnie TuSmith. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1998. 139-144.

Thayer, Leah. "Hidden Hell: Women in Prison." *Amnesty Now* (Fall 2004): 10-13.

TuSmith, Bonnie. "Benefit of the Doubt: A Conversation with John Edgar Wideman." *Conversations with John Edgar Wideman*. Ed. Bonnie TuSmith. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1998. 195-219.

Whitaker, Reg. *The End of Privacy: How Total Surveillance is Becoming a Reality*. New York: The New Press, 1999.

Wideman, John Edgar. *Brothers and Keepers*. New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Frederick Douglass's Lost Cause: Lynching and the Body Politic in "The Lessons of the Hour"

Randy Prus

Randy Prus is Professor of English and Humanities at Southeastern Oklahoma State University. His essay on Frederick Douglass and gendered nationalism recently appeared in a/b: Auto/Biography Studies.

There is a lesson to be learned from "The Lessons of the Hour," Frederick Douglass' final attempt to redress systemic racial violence in the United States. Douglass presented "The Lessons of the Hour" on several occasions beginning in 1892, before publishing it as a pamphlet in 1894 (Andrews 339). Between the years 1882 and 1901, no fewer than 107 people were lynched in a given year. As with his essay "Lynch Law in the South," published in the *North American Review* in 1892, "The Lessons of the Hour" directly confronts the ritualized violence of lynching taking place in the South, and the apologists who condoned the violence throughout the country. Douglass understood lynchings to be symbolic acts reflective of southern nationalism and its long history of persecuting blacks. For Douglass, lynchings are connected to the disfranchisement of black men taking place in the early 1890s. Both lynch law and disfranchisement constitute a disavowal of the black citizenship that had been gained during Reconstruction. The failure to recognize black citizenship threatens the basis of the republic as Douglass hoped and imagined it to be.

Although "The Lessons of the Hour" does not match the rhetorical power of Douglass's earlier work, the pamphlet re-visits the issues of black self-reliance and his hope for political and cultural assimilation. Unlike his earlier work, however, "The Lessons of the Hour" takes a distancing, utopian turn, both hopeful about assim-

ilation, and hopelessly resigned to the inevitable formation of Jim Crow. By the 1890's, in the wake of Reconstruction, racial politics in the United States had taken on a regressive, savage inequality. Coincidentally, by the 1890's, Douglass's voice in the national dialogue on race had been muted, giving way to the younger voices of such diverse figures as Ida B. Wells, Booker T. Washington, and Pauline Hopkins. No longer center stage and armed with a disempowered rhetoric, Douglass warns an audience against the acceptance of southern nationalism as part of the terms for national reconciliation. Unfortunately, southern nationalism, by the 1890's, had been re-written into the *mythos* of the national narrative.

I. The Wake of Reconstruction

The years immediately following the Civil War witnessed the passage of the most radically progressive civil rights legislation in the history of the nation, through the leadership of the radical Republicans who dominated Congress during Reconstruction. In December of 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, was ratified. In July of 1868, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment extended national citizenship to everyone, overriding attempts by individual states to limit citizenship by imposing "black codes." In March of 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment, which extended voting rights to black males, was ratified. Then, in 1875, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which outlawed racial segregation. These legislative acts transformed the political structure of the republic, and they define the basis of Douglass' nationalism. Douglass was a firm believer in the Constitution, and in the hope for social, political and economic assimilation such legislative acts provided for blacks in America. However, over the next twenty years the civil rights gained in Reconstruction were to be overturned by a series of further political and judicial actions.

By the 1890s, the white imagination perceived the black male as a particular problem. This anxiety was shaped by political, economic, and cultural events: with the failure of Reconstruction on a national level, political issues were returned to the state level; meanwhile, the early 1890s witnessed an economic recession which turned into a depression by 1894, with the southern economy especially hard hit. Along with this shift in politics and the stagnant economy, came a cultural revision of the Civil War, known as the "Lost Cause."

After the disputed election of 1876, Reconstruction at the federal level began to fall apart and Rutherford B. Hayes, the newly and fraudulently elected president, agreed to remove the army from the south as part of the compromise. The corruption of the previous Grant Administration had transformed the Republican party into the party of big business and the party of the Gilded Age, and it abandoned the causes of Civil Rights. In 1883, the Supreme Court overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875. With the task of Reconstruction left to the states, and the

annulment of Civil Rights at the federal level, racial politics became a disaster. In 1890, Mississippi altered its Constitution to disfranchise blacks, and after 1892, Virginia, Alabama and Georgia also enacted codes to limit voting rights. By the turn of the century, all southern states restricted voting rights based on some combination of literacy tests, property rights, and poll taxes, essentially nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment. These events would lead eventually to *Plessy versus Ferguson* in 1895, which would cement the "separate but equal" Jim Crow social structure for the next seventy years.

As the political order was being remade, the "radical redeemers" began to dominate the cultural narrative of the south. According to Joel Williamson in his important study, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*, the redeemers held militant white supremacist views, and were largely responsible for ritualized lynchings. The "redeemer" ideology was especially appealing to lower class whites who were feeling the pains of the economic recession that hit the southern agrarian economy hard. C. Vann Woodward has noted the price of cotton, in 1894, was 4.6 cents a pound compared with 14.1 cents a pound in 1873 (185). For the most part, it was lower class whites who performed lynchings under the guise of a "mob," but their ideology was supported by intellectual and cultural narratives as well.

White supremacist ideology found support in the scientific, religious, and cultural discourses. Joel Williamson elaborates in detail the pervasiveness of racist thought in the United States in the 1890s. For example, Nathaniel Southgate Shuler, a professor of Harvard, argued in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1884 that blacks were basically imitative, and that, once freed from the civilizing influence of slavery, they would retrogress into a savage state (Williamson 119). This theme was echoed by Phillip Alexander Bruce in his 1889 book, *The Plantation Negro as Freeman* (Williamson 121). Leonidas Scott, a layman who would achieve a high rank in the Southern Baptist Church, wrote in 1894: "The people of the South had better become emancipated from the negro, and practice and not preach White Supremacy" (qtd. in Williamson 128). Rebecca Latimer Felton, a leading journalist and politician in Georgia addressed the State Agricultural Society in 1897 and defended the lynchings, saying "if it takes lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from drunken, ravenous beasts then I say lynch a thousand a week if it becomes necessary" (qtd, in Williamson 128). Earlier, she had led a movement to arrange an exhibit at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair that depicted an idyllic plantation scene, with two black slaves, Aunt Jinny and Uncle Jack, as counter-propaganda to the Fair's tribute to Harriet Beecher Stowe and her Uncle Tom (Williamson 124-127).

The political acts that overturned Civil Rights were supported, in part, by a cultural re-writing of the Civil War. This revision constituted the myth of the "Lost Cause." As an effort to reconcile the split in the nation, the Civil War became culturally re-imagined as a war of passionate intensity, and even though the south lost, its cause was accepted

as a noble one. Emancipation and the civil rights blacks had achieved with the post-war Amendments were ostensibly erased from this narrative. David Blight describes the "Lost Cause":

> Historians have defined the Lost Cause in at least three different ways: one, as a public memory, shaped by a web of organizations, institutions, and rituals; two, as a dimension of southern and American civil religion, rooted in churches and sacred rhetoric as well as secular institutions and thought; and three, as a literary phenomenon, shaped by journalists and fiction writers from the die-hard Confederate apologists of the immediate post-war years, through the gentle romanticism of the "local color" writers of the 1880s, to the legion of more mature novelists of the 1890s and early twentieth century who appealed to a national audience eager for reconciliation.
>
> (228-9)

In short, the "Lost Cause" re-introduced southern nationalism into the national narrative. As the new social order in the south was forming, led by the radical redeemers, the old order became increasingly romanticized — the figure of Robert E. Lee, for instance, re-appears as a martyred, Christ-like figure. The United Confederate Veterans were organized in 1889, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1895 (Woodward 156). The new order, as with the old, was contingent upon the white race mastering the black race, and as C. Vann Woodward has observed, "southern romanticism was highly contagious" (156). Both the new and the old orders, however, constructed identities that went beyond individual state identification, and became a recurring southern nationalism. With the acceptance of southern nationalism, the Civil War was revised in the emerging national narrative as a temporary, yet centralizing disruption, while post-war amendments and civil rights bills were erased from memory.

The discourses of the "Lost Cause" and the white supremacy endemic to them form the basis of the emergent national narrative. With the elision of the post-war amendments and civil rights bills from the national narrative, blacks were abrogated from the body politic, however brief and marginal their participation was in the decade or two following the Civil War. The intrinsic violence of southern nationalism, in turn, allowed for the ritualized performance of violence against black bodies by lynching. To accommodate southern nationalism, the national narrative readily accepted the double violence against the black body and the black body politic. Douglass understands the ritualized violence to be systemic, and hence, discursive, part of an on-going cultural narrative.

Etymologically, lynching has always been a part of the southern American experience. The word "lynch" is derived from the name Lynch, an American vigilante during the Revolution. "Lynch law" described Lynch's method of dealing with the Tories in Virginia, and yet

in its earliest recorded usage, the pillaring of Tories was equated with the pillaring of blacks. The *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* includes a citation of the term "Lynch's law" with the reference from 1782 in a letter from C. Lynch to W. Hay, 11 May: "They are mostly torys & such as [Capt.] Sanders has given Lynchs Law too for Dealing with the Negroes &" (1462). In this early formulation of "lynch's law," the pillaring of Tories received its justification because they were equated with "negroes." As specific terms, "lynch law" and "lynch" enter the American lexicon in the years 1811 and 1836, respectively (*Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* 1462). In the early part of the nineteenth century, periodic panics over slave insurrections broke out among white southerners, which led to the more intense policing of slave society. According to Bertram Wyatt-Brown, two of the years of panic were 1811 and 1835, years that coincide with the appearance of the terms "lynch law" and "lynching" in the lexicon (407).

Initially lynching might include acts of public humiliation, such as tarring and feathering, and did not necessarily end in death for the victim. However, the lynchings that erupted in the 1890s were fatal acts of racism. The victim – usually a black male — would often be accused of violating a white woman. The resulting violence was designed to punish the victim and to terrorize the black population. With these intentions, lynchings projected a double order of violence: on one hand, they were punitive, convicting and executing the victim outside the law and social restraints; but on the other hand, they were ritualized, symbolic acts, and hence, very much a part of the social order, an extension of lynch law, residing in the culture of southern nationalism. The social institutions formed within this cultural narrative recognized the punitive violence of the lynchings, but were blinded to their symbolic violence as a central part of its imaginary.

The fact that these lynchings were social rituals and symbolic acts is evident both in the events themselves and in the reporting of the events. The numbers are indicative of the pervasiveness, both geographically and temporally, of the events. Between 1882 and 1927, a reported 4, 951 people were lynched, the majority of them occurred in the former Confederate states. The highest number of lynchings occurred between 1891 and 1893, with reported counts of 195, 235, and 200 respectively. These were the years Douglass was working on "Lynch Law in the South," and "The Lessons of the Hour," as well as the revision of *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. The victims were for the most part black men, although black women and whites were lynched as well.

These lynchings took the form of hanging and/or burning the victim alive, but they also included other gruesome acts. Reports indicate the use of corkscrews in the flesh, decapitation, the removal of digits as souvenirs, and at times castration of the victim. Lynching events were premeditated and well-organized. Large crowds, including women and children, witnessed them, although, in a good many the names of the participants were reported "unknown" to local authorities. As alarming as the events themselves were, so too was the circulation of the lynching

narratives throughout the cultural economy. The fact that large crowds appeared so suddenly attests to the power of the oral tradition of southern culture. Detailed reports were circulated in the southern, as well as northern, press. Lynchings were also photographed and circulated as postcards throughout the nation. James Allen's recent exhibit *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in American* gathers a wide collection of these photographs and bears witness to lynching as a signifier of southern nationalism. Lynching, in effect, replaced slavery as the peculiar institution of the south.

II. The Body of the Text and Discursive Bodies

For Frederick Douglass, the lynchings that occurred in the early 1890s were part of the systemic "lynch law" that defined the new order in the South. Douglass's essays, "Lynch Law in the South" (1892), and "The Lessons of the Hour"(1894) address the problems of lynching by attacking the culture that produces the "lynch law." While "Lynch Law in the South" addresses the problems of a specific southern nationalism, "Lessons of the Hour"addresses the problems of the lynch law as well as its influence upon the entire country. Douglass's rhetoric, in both essays, but especially in "The Lessons of the Hour," assumes the counter-position of a transcendent United States nationalism that bridges the North-South divide. He speaks in both essays as a citizen of the republic, granted rights by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments — the same Amendments that are abrogated by the emergence of southern nationalism in the national narrative.

From this position, Douglass is able to confront southern nationalism as a discursive issue, maintained by religious, legal, political and social discourses. Douglass, addressing the term "negro problem," writes in "Lessons of the Hour":

> I say at once, I do not like or admit the justice or propriety of this formula. Words are things. They certainly are such in this case, and I may say they are a very bad thing, in this case, since they give us a misnomer and one that is misleading. It is a formula of Southern origin, and has a strong bias against him. It has been accepted by the good people of the North, as I think, without investigation. It is a crafty invention and is in every way, worthy of its inventors."
>
> (LH 360)

Waldo Martin has documented Douglass' lifelong confrontation with race and color prejudice. As Martin makes clear, Douglass understood prejudice as a pyschopathology, especially in the white imagination, as it pertained first to slaves in the ante-bellum period and then to the freedmen following the war. In identifying prejudice as a problem in language, Douglass is exposing the discursive formation of racial preju-

dice, and, in locating the discourse as one of "southern origin" infecting the north, Douglass contains prejudice within the "new" order of the south, even as it replicates the "old" order.

Economically and politically the "new" order differed from the "old" order, yet shared a basic economic similarity: colonialism. The break-up of the old plantation system, after the war, brought about a system of sharecropping and tenant farming. This system was based upon the production of a single crop that was dependent upon world markets. C. Vann Woodward writes: "The immemorial pattern of colonialism – the dependence upon the sale of cheap raw materials on a world market and upon buying back manufactured goods from protected industrial and commercial areas – continued to hold sway in the South despite the much-vaunted 'industrial revolution.'" (Woodward 186). While the colonial system effected the white, as well as black, sharecropper economically and politically, it especially led to the construction of the black man in the south as a colonial subject.

Douglass raises the issues of figural representation in "The Lessons of the Hour." Within the discourse of southern nationalism, black males were culturally represented in two distinct and opposing ways: one, as an aggressive, sexually licentious, ravaging beast, preying upon white women, and two, as a docile, ignorant, humble and humiliated member of the lower class in service to dominant white authority. Both cultural representations of black men serve to limit their political representation. The figure of the sexually aggressive black man became the focus of many of the lynchings, at least putatively so, and the figure of the ignorant black man became the focus of the disfranchisement of black men in the southern states as they reportedly could not pass literacy tests necessary to vote or hold property. Homi Bhabha identifies this construction of a double-stereotype as systemic to a colonial discourse:

> [T]here is another scene of colonial discourse in which the native or Negro meets the demand of colonial discourse; where the subverting 'split' is recuperable within a strategy of social and political control. It is recognizably true that the chain of stereotypical signification is curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse, an articulation of multiple belief. The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatized is a separation – between races, cultures, histories, within histories – a separation between *before* and *after* that repeats obsessively the mythical moment or disjunction.
>
> (82)

Bhabha reads colonial discourse as a systematic deployment of stereotypes against a certain group of people that allows the colonizer to maintain authority and power over that group of people. As the "new" order of the south emerges in the 1890s, it replicates the "old" order by repeating the south's mythical past as the authorizing agency of whites over blacks. At this scene of identification, the "Lost Cause" appears as an obsessive disjunction erasing the rights gained by blacks during Reconstruction, and becomes the basis for the "new" order of southern nationalism.

In "The Lessons of the Hour," Douglass addresses both stereotypes of the black male, and in doing so, confronts the discourse of southern nationalism. Douglass argues against the inherent rapacity of the black man in the "new" order by negating its presence in the "old" order:

> I reject the charge brought against the negro as a class, but all through the late war, while the slave masters of the South were absent from their homes in the field of rebellion, with bullets in their pockets, treason in their hearts, broad blades in their blood stained hands, seeking the life of the nation, with the vile purpose of perpetuating the enslavement of the negro, their wives, their daughters, their sisters and their mothers were left in the absolute custody of these same negroes, and during all those four years of terrible conflict, when the negro had every opportunity to commit the abominable crime now alleged against him, there was never a single instance of such crime reported or charged against him.
>
> (346)

Douglass counters the stereotype of the rapacious black man with the historical evidence of the Civil War. Black slaves were left home alone with the white women of the south, and yet, during the four years of the war, there were no accusations – real or imagined – of rape or attempted rape. More importantly, in demystifying this stereotype Douglass is also refuting the claim of southern nationalism that the "new" order is based on the "Lost Cause" of the "old" order. In doing so, Douglass disrupts the national narrative that relies on a belief in tradition, however fictional that tradition might be.

Douglass also confronts the stereotype of the black man as the docile, subservient figure:

> Even when American art undertakes to picture the types of the two races it invariably places in comparison not the best of both races as common fairness would dictate, but it puts side by side in glaring contrast the lowest type of the negro with the highest type of the white man and calls upon you to "look upon this picture then upon that."
>
> When a black man's language is quoted, in order to belittle and degrade him, his ideas are put into the most grotesque and

> unreadable English, while the utterances of negro scholars and authors are ignored. A hundred white men will attend a concert of white negro minstrels with faces blackened with burnt cork, to one who will attend a lecture by an intelligent negro.
>
> (352)

Here Douglass is countering the stereotype of the ignorant, subservient black figure that repeats itself in the cultural representation of the plantation mythology – a scene in which the social order is represented by whites taking control of the racial divide. As he dispenses with the stereotype, Douglass himself becomes a performative figure. His language and his advancement from slave to citizen undermines the stereotype by representing the cultural advances of blacks made possible by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which give black males citizenship and voting rights. More importantly, Douglass' rhetoric undermines the myth of the "Lost Cause" and its insistence that the "new" order is a return of the "old" order. Douglass embodies the advances made by blacks through the post-war Amendments and Civil Rights legislation, and by calling attention to himself as an "intelligent negro," he counters the stereotype of the minstrel. In demythologizing the cultural double stereotype of black males, Douglass provides for himself a basis upon which to address the failures of political representation inherent in southern nationalism as they relate to lynch law and the disfranchisement of black males.

As a symbolic act of violence, lynching was symptomatic of the deeper psychopathology of white supremacy embedded in southern nationalism and the discourses which it produced. In "The Lessons of the Hour," Douglass identifies and names this social imaginary the "south." For Douglass, the whole issue of race relations throughout the country becomes a "southern question" as he writes: "You must not, therefore, be surprised if my version of the Southern question shall widely differ from both the North and South. . . ." (340). Douglass articulates a position that is both and yet neither north and south, a position of transcendent nationalism. The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Douglass understands that the Fourteenth Amendment affords him a position that superseded Southern law and culture. From this position, he speaks as both citizen — "Friends and fellow citizens" (340) – and as a black man – "I proposed to give you a colored man's view"(340). For Douglass, southern nationalism becomes an opposition, not to northern identities, but to a national identity, which includes the rights of black men as voting citizens. Because he is a product of Enlightenment humanism as well as romantic nationalism, Douglass foregrounds his critique of southern nationalism on the ideals of the second republic as defined by the civil rights legislation of Reconstruction.

In "The Lessons of the Hour," Douglass repeatedly identifies lynch law as a product of southern nationalism. In addition to the terms "south" and "southern," he deploys the term "the late rebellious States" (341) as if to remind his audience of the Civil War, which by 1892 is a generation past. The justification of lynch law, according to Douglass, is rightly termed an "effective justification of Southern barbarism" (349). The crime of lynching is committed by "the Southern mob" (351). Perhaps his most telling condemnation of lynch law as part of southern nationalism occurs when he writes:

> We must remember that these people [Southerners] have not now and have never had any such respect for human life as is common to other men. They have had among them for centuries a peculiar institution, and that peculiar institution has stamped them as a peculiar people. They were not before the war, they were not during the war and have not been since the war in their spirit or in their civilization, a people in common with the people of the North.
>
> (351)

The "peculiar institution" hosted by these peculiar people to which Douglass refers is white supremacy and the oppression of blacks. In tracing the genealogy of white supremacy in the peculiar institutions of the south, he exposes the psychopathology within southern nationalism.

Douglass directs his critique at the arguments about religion, politics, and cultural reform intended to support lynch law and produced by the social imaginary. These discourses are represented in the figures of Atticus Greene Haygood, a liberal Methodist bishop, Daniel Henry Chamberlain, the former governor of South Carolina, and Frances Willard, head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Douglass quotes all three defenders of lynch law in "The Lessons of the Hour" as follows:

> Haygood: "The most alarming fact is, that execution by lynching has ceased to surprise us. The burning of a human being for any crime, it is thought, is a horror that does not occur outside the Southern States of the American Union, yet unless assaults by negroes come to an end, there will most probably be still further display of vengeance that will shock the world, and men who are just will consider provocation."
>
> Chamberlain: "Your [Douglass'] denunciation of the South on this point is directed exclusively, or nearly so, against the application of lynch law for the punishment of one crime, or one sort of crime, the existence, I suppose, I might say the prevalence of this crime at the South is undeniable. But I read your article in

> vain for any special denunciation of the crime itself. As you say your people are lynched, tortured and burned for assault on white women. As you value your own good fame and safety as a race, stamp out the infamous crime."
>
> Willard: "I pity the Southerner. The problem on their hands is immeasurable. The colored race . . . multiplies like the locusts of Egypt. The safety of woman, of childhood, of the home, is menaced in a thousand localities at this moment, so that men dare not go beyond the sight of their own roof tree."
>
> (343)

By citing these testimonies, Douglass tactically reveals the legitimization of lynch law as a cultural practice, and the act of lynching as a symbolic act formed by the culture. All three acknowledge the occurrence of lynching and identify it as a peculiarly southern institution. Significantly, all three base their defense of lynch law on the stereotype of the rapacious black male.

In quoting these three public figures, Douglass asserts the contagious effects of white supremacy and southern nationalism. Haygood, Chamberlain, and Willard were not radical redeemers; in fact, their politics toward racial issues tended to be more liberal than most in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Haygood was the author of *Our Brother in Black* and supported education for blacks. From 1882 to 1891, Haygood was head of the Slater Fund, which supported black higher education in the south. Yet, he was also paternalistic in his approach to racial issues, supporting segregation and seeing amalgamation between the races as an impossibility. Chamberlain was the last Reconstruction governor of South Carolina. Originally from Massachusetts and a Harvard graduate, Chamberlain moved to South Carolina after the war and became a planter. The state Constitution he helped write included universal male suffrage and removed property qualifications for office. Although he wasn't a radical Republican by northern standards, his politics were quite liberal for the south. Willard was the most radical of the three. Head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Willard had long been an advocate for female suffrage. By 1891, she was a dedicated socialist. In February of 1891, she wrote: "Nationalism is more of a machine for grinding out civilization; Socialism the womb out of which the coming civilization we believe will be born. The machine is in danger of producing, not men, but machines. Socialism is to us the Alma Mater of healthy individuals" (qtd. in Earhart 289). Willard found in socialism a maternal metaphor for a social order that could forward her feminist agenda. While their politics varied, all three were reformers to some degree, pushing for more equitable social politics.

Their acknowledgment of the use of lynch law not only reveals the contagion of southern discourse and white supremacist politics, it also conceals the symbolic aspects of lynching as rooted in the national

unconscious. All three treat lynching as an aberration outside, and yet adjacent to the existing social order. The event of lynching is equated to, and hence justified by, the crime of (the alleged) rape. Their defense of lynching repeats, and further circulates, the stereotype of the rapacious black male.

Douglass counters their defense of lynching by addressing the counter-stereotype of the illiterate, ignorant black male as it leads to disfranchisement of black males:

> Again I arraign the negro's accuser on another ground, I have no confidence in the truthfulness of men who justify themselves in cheating the negro out of his constitutional right to vote. The men, who either by false returns, or by taking advantage of his illiteracy or surrounding the ballot-box with obstacles and sinuosities intended to bewilder him and defeat his rightful exercise of the elective franchise, are men who are not to be believed on oath. That this is done in the Southern States is not only admitted, but openly defended and justified by so-called honorable men inside and outside of Congress.
>
> (345)

Douglass connects lynching with disfranchisement, vis-a-vis the double stereotype. For Douglass, the violence performed against the black male body in the act of lynching is symbolic of the violence against the black male body politic in the act of disfranchisement. In making this connection, Douglass locates lynching as the symbolic act representative of the southern — as well as national – policy that disavows civil rights for black men.

Douglass views lynching and disfranchisement as part of the historical continuum that justifies the persecution of blacks in the South. The justifications for persecution, according to Douglass, fall into three periods: the first, the fear of slave insurrection, the second, the fear of black supremacy. The third, the fear of black assaults upon white women, is the period in which Douglass writes "The Lessons of the Hour," is (348). All three periods produced transformations in legal and judicial procedures in the south as well as in the nation. The fear of insurrection transformed the policing of racial subjects. Periodic panics over slave insurrection led to strict curfew laws for both slaves and free blacks in the south, and this led to the development of vigilante constabularies that would enforce the laws. The fear of black supremacy, brought about by the post-war Amendments and the Civil Rights legislation, transformed those same legislative acts through the Supreme Court decisions that would eventually lead to Jim Crow laws. The fear of black assaults upon white women brings with it lynch law and both the literal and symbolic violence against blacks. Douglass fully understands that racial policy in the form of white supremacy guides legislative and judicial action in the south, and influences the nation as a

whole. Lynching and disfranchisement eventually lead to the question of recolonization and the removal of blacks from the American soil. As he had done throughout his public career, Douglass resists recolonization, arguing, "The native land of the American negro is America. His bones, his muscles, his sinews, are all American" (358). This is an ironic re-figuring of lynching. Quite literally, in many cases, the act of lynching dismembers the bones from the muscles and sinews of the victim. The "bones," "muscles," and "sinews" of the black man define America, but it is an America that legitimizes lynch law and disfranchisement.

Douglass addresses this issue of splitting, of both the body and the body politic as represented by the double stereotype, through the work of the Rev. Morgan Godwin near the close of "The Lessons of the Hour." Godwyn, an Anglican minister, who in 1681 published *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate*, advocated the baptism of Africans (as well as Indians) while at the same time defending slavery. Douglass writes:

> The Doctor was a skilled dialectician. He did not only divide the word with skill, but he could divide the negro in two parts. He argued that the negro had a soul as well as a body, and insisted that while his body rightfully belonged to his master on earth, his soul belonged to his Master in heaven. By this convenient arrangement, somewhat metaphysical, to be sure, but entirely evangelical and logical, the problem of negro baptism was solved.
>
> But with the negro in the case, as I have said, the argument was not entirely satisfactory. The operation was much like that by which the white man got his turkey and the Indian got the crow. When the negro looked around for his body, that belonged to his earthly master. When he looked around for his soul, that had been appropriated by his Heavenly Master. And when he looked around for something that really belonged to himself, he found nothing but his shadow, and that vanished in the shade. (364)

Douglass recognizes Godwyn's political position as a liberal one by seventeenth-century accounts. Yet, Douglass also recognizes Godwyn's attempt to reconcile baptism and slavery as a splitting of the black subject, and by extension a justification of oppression and paternalism. This splitting performs the double stereotype of the black figure. On the one hand, he is a savage and his enslavement is justified; on the other, he is capable of conversion through the guidance of the paternalistic white master through baptism. As we have seen in his critique of Haygood, Chamberlain, and Willard, Douglass understands the relationship between figural and political representation. The figural representation of the double stereotype leads to lynch law and disfranchisement. In the end, as Douglass argues, the black subject is reduced to shade and shadow.

In "The Lessons of the Hour," Douglass presents an apocalyptic view of the nation. As David Blight has argued, Douglass' apocalyptic writings take the literary form of the jeremiad, a form which "provided a means for a black intellectual like Douglass to vent his frustration and rage while still preserving his hope, attack the United States government while at the same time demanding a place in its future" (Blight 119). Douglass expresses both his rage and his hope when he writes:

> I hope and trust all will come out right in the end, but the immediate future looks dark and troubled. I cannot shut my eyes to the ugly facts before me . . . Rebel rule is now nearly complete in many States and it is gradually capturing the nation's Congress. The cause lost in the war, is the cause gained in peace, and the cause gained in war, is the cause lost in peace.
>
> (356)

For Douglass, the struggle for civil rights is a civil war. While maintaining an optimism for the future of blacks in the body politic, he is rightly concerned about the dismembering of the body politic through lynch law and disfranchisement. Douglass identifies, once again, the problem as one of "rebel rule," as southern nationalism and its systemic white supremacy invading the national political discourse. For Douglass, southern nationalism divides the republic in the 1890s just as it did in the 1860s. Douglass re-figures the split in the double stereotype of the black man into a split within the republic. This is his lesson of the hour.

Notes

1. See McFeeley especially chapter 27, "Chicago," pp.359-374; Gunning, especially Chapter 2, "Mark Twain, Charles Chesnutt, and the Politics of Literary Anti-Racism," 48-76.
2. See Woodward, especially Chapter XII, "The Mississippi Plan as the American Way," 321-349.
3. For a fuller account of the depression, see Woodward, 175-204.
4. For a detailed reading of Frederick Douglass' resistance to the Lost Cause, see Blight's Chapter 10, "Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War." Blight focuses on Douglass' speeches and other writings, but doesn't address "The Lessons of the Hour."
5. Cutler gives a more varied and speculative account of the terms "lynch-law" and "lynching," but remains convinced it originates in the American south.
6. According to Williamson, "A study published in 1905 indicated that of the 2,060 blacks lynched in the twenty-two years, 1881-1903, only 34.3 percent were accused of assaults or attempted assaults upon females" (529 n11). For a detailed reading of the psycho-sexual dynamics of

lynching, and the white male fear and envy of black male sexuality, see Wiegman, pp. 445-67.
7. For detailed accounts of lynchings see Litwack "Hellhounds" in Allen; also White, Wells-Barnett, Harris, and Cutler. The details I present are drawn from their accounts.
8. See Martin: "It stood to reason, Douglass argued in a postwar speech, that 'the superior intelligence of the whites, the former subjection of the blacks, the habit of bearing rule of the whites, and the habit of submission by the blacks, make black supremacy in any part of our country utterly impossible.' The white outcry and retaliation against the alleged threat of black domination, therefore, was absurd as well as irrational. By scapegoating the Negro, this racist white overreaction functioned as a smoke screen to cloak deep-seated white problems" (121).
9. Wells-Barnett makes a similar claim in "A Red Record" (63-64).
10. Douglass expresses his belief in the Enlightenment and in the nation in the following sentence: "The South, which has been compelled to keep step with the music of the Union, will also be compelled to keep step with the music of the nineteenth century, which is preeminently a century of enlightenment and progress" ("Lynch Law in the South" 21). For a fuller account of Douglass' nationalism, see Martin, chapter 8, "A Composite American Nationality," pp. 197-224.
11. See Mann, especially chapter 11, "Dr. Haygood and Negrophilia," (182-197).
12. See Guess, 264-279.
13. See Earhart, especially Chapter XVIII, "Views of Many Subjects," 287-307.
14. See Wyatt-Brown, 402-434.
15. It is curious that Douglass varied the spelling and is off by ten years with regard to the publication of Godwyn's work. Albert Bushnell Hart was a noted professor of History at Harvard in the 1890s, and in 1897 published a collection *American History told by Contemporaries* (NY: Macmillan, 1897) in which a portion of Godwyn's work appears. It is my speculation that Douglass came to Godwyn's work through the work of Hart, quite possibly a lecture, which would account for the spelling and dates.

Works Cited

Allen, James, ed. *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America.* Santa Fe, NM.: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000.
Andrews, William L. Editor, with an Introduction. *The Oxford Frederick Douglass Reader.* New York: Oxford U P, 1996.
Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1994.
Blight, David W. *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* Baton Rouge: LSU P, 1989.
Cutler, James. *Lynch-Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States.* Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith (1905, rptd. 1969).
Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles. Ed. William A.

Craigie and Jame R. Hulbert. Vol. III, Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1942.
Douglass, Frederick. "The Lessons of the Hour." *The Oxford Frederick Douglass Reader*. Ed. William L. Andrews. New York: Oxford U P, 1996.
—. *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.
—. "Lynch Law in the South." *The North American Review*. 155:428 (1892). 17-24.
Earhart, Mary. Frances Willard: *From Prayer to Politics*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1944.
Guess, William Francis. *South Carolina: Annals of Pride and Protest*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.
Gunning, Sandra. *Race, Rape, and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890-1912*. New York: Oxford U P, 1996.
Harris, Trudier. *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals*. Bloomington, IN.: Indiana U P, 1984.
Litwack, Leon F. "Hellhounds." *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America.* Ed. James Allen. Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000.
Mann, Harold W. *Atticus Greene Haygood: Methodist Bishop, Editor, and Educator*. Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 1965.
Martin, Waldo E. Jr. *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984.
Wells-Barnett, Ida B. *On Lynchings: Southern Horror; A Red Record; Mob Rule in New Orleans.* Reprint Edition. Salem, NH: Ayer Co., Publishers, Inc., 1991.
White, Walter. *Rope and Faggot*. New York: Arno P, 1969.
Wiegman, Robyn. "The Anatomy of Lynching." *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 3:3 (January 1993). 445-67.
Williamson, Joel. *Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford U P, 1984.
Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State U P, 1951.
Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South*. New York: Oxford U P, 1982.

Up in Smoke: Trouble and Tobacco in Yoknapatawpha County

Sharon Desmond Paradiso

Sharon Desmond Paradiso teaches management communication at the Isenberg School of Management at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Her work on Faulkner includes a dissertation on whiteness in Yoknapatawpha County, and articles on Eula Varner Snopes and Absalom, Absalom! *She plans to quit smoking any day now.*

For the first two-thirds, at least, of the twentieth century, the smoking of tobacco in America was so ubiquitous as to be virtually invisible. Everybody smoked — or at least, everybody accepted smoking. Indoors, outdoors, at work, at home, in hospitals, restaurants, gyms, airplanes, trains, waiting rooms, doctors' offices — wherever you were (except, perhaps, in church), an ashtray was provided. If you weren't a smoker, or if you were allergic to tobacco smoke, that was pretty much your problem: while it was customary to ask, "mind if I smoke?" before lighting up, it was not quite as acceptable to answer in the affirmative. It was a smoker's world.

By the 1940s, about half of the male population of the United States, and about 30% of the female population, smoked cigarettes (Nicolaides-Bouman, Wald, Forey and Lee 449). Data on cigar and pipe smoking have been less conscientiously tracked, but we can gauge their relative popularity by the sales figures. In 1925, cigarettes accounted for 25% of all tobacco sales; cigars for 18%, and pipe, hand-rolling, and chewing tobacco for a full 52%. By 1945, cigarettes had cornered 59% of the market, cigars were down to 9%, and loose tobacco to 27%. And by 1955, cigarettes were dominating at 74%, while cigars held steady at 9%. Only 6% of the tobacco sold that year went into pipes, and 6% was sold as chewing tobacco (454). After World War I, then, cigarettes began to take hold as the nicotine delivery device of choice, and their

popularity continued to increase, at the expense of the cigar and the pipe, throughout the twentieth century.[1]

William Faulkner smoked. He is perhaps most famous for his ever-present pipe, but Joseph Blotner's biography includes many photos of Faulkner holding and smoking cigarettes as well. There is one in his R.A.F. uniform, for example, and another of him seated at his writing desk with a pen in one hand and a cigarette in the other. So it is no surprise that many of his characters also enjoyed tobacco in its various forms. To judge from the extant criticism, however, it seems that readers have, over the years, internalized these fictional tobacco products, seeing them on the page and glossing right over them, noticing and not-noticing just the way Americans in the early part of the century did in real life. But a look at who smokes in Yoknapatawpha, and when, and why, and to what effect, reveals a hierarchy of tobacco use, with pipe smokers at the top of the heap, cigar smokers in the middle, and cigarette smokers at the bottom. I intend to demonstrate that hierarchy, and to argue also that Yoknapatawpha tobacco smoking, generally and in its particulars, is related to perceptions of social and legal justice.

To consider the meaning of tobacco use in Yoknapatawpha, then, it is appropriate to take on Faulkner's cigarette smokers first. After all, they form the broad base of the pyramid, both in Yoknapatawpha and in the culture out of which Faulkner was writing. Perhaps respectable people smoked cigarettes in the culture at large, but in Yoknapatawpha, this is not a savory lot. In Yoknapatawpha, it seems, only the fallen smoke cigarettes. They are people who are in trouble in one way or another.

"Trouble" means that something bad is happening or is going to happen, deservedly or not. For example, a person can get in trouble for breaking a rule, or law, or societal norm, but one can also get in trouble just for being in the wrong place at the wrong time. A person in trouble is in a space where he or she doesn't belong, be that space psychological or physical. Trouble is the knowledge that one is about to be judged, and the anticipation of negative judgment.

Joe Christmas is an example of a man in trouble. He doesn't know where he belongs, so he is usually in the wrong place at the wrong time. He is constantly anticipating negative judgment — and he is constantly smoking cigarettes. Similarly, Popeye of *Sanctuary* is a habitual smoker; he even counts out his final days in cigarette butts (instead, I suppose, of coffee spoons). In this way, Popeye's cigarettes are "coffin nails" in more than the usual sense of the metaphor.

But why shouldn't Popeye smoke? Everyone else in *Sanctuary* does. Even Temple, even in her pre-rape days, is a smoker. Early on, she bums a cigarette from Ruby, and it is clear that this is not her first cigarette. Later, at Miss Reba's brothel, Temple stays in her room smoking and drinking gin. But when she is "redeemed," at trial, she does not smoke. Nor does she smoke in the presence of her father in the Luxembourg gardens; in the presence of her father the judge, she is no longer in trou-

ble. But by the time we meet her again in *Requiem for a Nun*, she has become a chain smoker, practically lighting one cigarette from the burning end of another. Temple's cigarette habit reflects her powerlessness: she only smokes when she is out of place, out of control, or out of excuses — in short, in trouble.

Cigarettes, then, are linked with outsider status, murder, rape, prostitution, general bad behavior. Because they turn up between the stained fingers of characters who have fallen from various kinds of grace, they can almost always be read as tiny, cylindrical carriers of the fires of hell. And although they are often considered phallic symbols, cigarettes in Yoknapatawpha tend to feminize the men (Popeye is impotent, for example, and Joe loses his manhood quite literally) and weaken the women who smoke them. Both Temple and Joe repeat the phrase, "something is happening to me" (Temple, *Sanctuary* 102) or "something is going to happen to me" (Joe, *Light in August* 118). The unspoken corollary to this refrain is, "and I am powerless to stop it." These two cigarette smokers have no power to control their worlds, even if they would wish to do so (and perhaps they do not). Furthermore, each feels a bit of shame about this powerlessness; for Joe, an actual man, and Temple, a woman who yearns for, or at least plays at, the sexual freedom of a man, such powerlessness before fate is gallingly feminizing.

There's nothing effeminate about a cigar, however. This most Oedipal of phallic symbols represents a desire for power in the psyches of the men (always men, in Yoknapatawpha) who smoke them. But the desire for power does not necessarily mean the achievement of it. Old Bayard Sartoris of *Flags in the Dust*, for example, is a habitual cigar smoker, but he is only seen smoking when he feels his power is threatened.[2] It does not take an advanced degree in psychology, for instance, to understand the Oedipal underpinnings of the scene in which Young Bayard returns from the war and meets up with Old Bayard on the porch of the Sartoris homestead. The scene opens on Old Bayard smoking on the porch:

> His cigar was cold, and he moved and dug a match from his waistcoat and relit it and braced his feet again upon the railing, and again the drifting sharpness of tobacco lay along the windless currents of the silver air straying and fading slowly amid locust-breaths and the ceaseless fairy reiteration of crickets and frogs. There was a mockingbird somewhere down the valley, far away, and in a while another sang from the magnolia at the corner of the garden fence. An automobile passed along the smooth valley road, slowed for the railway crossing, then sped again, and when the sound of it had died away, the whistle of the nine-thirty train swelled from among the hills.
>
> (43)

In this passage, it is possible to trace Old Bayard's entire progression through the novel. His cigar, his power, his potency, starts out "cold:"

he is old; all that is left to him is swapping stories with Old Man Falls on the porch of the family homestead, under Miss Jenny's sharp, nagging control. He "relights his cigar," struggling to get some of this potency back: he refuses the doctor Miss Jenny procures for him; he lords it over his servants; he attempts to rein in Young Bayard's reckless and self-destructive habits. The "sharpness of tobacco," however, fades in the wind, and he hears a couple of "mockingbirds" — nobody pays him much mind anymore, not Jenny, not Caspey, certainly not Young Bayard. Then Old Bayard hears an automobile (he is to die in an automobile, driven by Young Bayard) and as the sound of that fades away, he hears the whistle of the evening train, which will, according to some spirituals, bear him away to heaven.

Old Bayard's cigar goes cold twice more before Young Bayard appears, and it is he, Young Bayard, who attempts to light Old Bayard's cigar for him, noting his shaking hands. But Old Bayard is not ready to cede his power to his young grandson just yet: "old Bayard repulsed him sharply and sucked stubbornly and impotently at the match in his unsteady fingers" (45). Old Bayard's cigar could not be more representative of his sense of masculine power if it had testicles. And to add insult to injury, Old Bayard's grandson, the man who is supposed to replace Old Bayard in the Sartoris power structure, smokes cigarettes.

In the Compson family, both Jasons, *père* and *fils*, are cigar smokers; perhaps not coincidentally, these are arguably two of the most ineffectual white men in Yoknapatawpha. In contrast, Quentin Compson, perhaps the *single* most powerless character in all of Faulkner's work, is *associated* with cigars, but does not actually smoke them. For example, in *The Sound and the Fury,* Quentin buys a cigar early on the day of his suicide; he even lights it and takes a few puffs. But then he is confronted by two "bootblacks, one on either side, shrill and raucous, like blackbirds" (83), who try to get his business. Powerless to say no, he gives one of them the cigar. But even that act of largesse does not leave him with any sense of power: as he walks away, "[t]he one with the cigar was trying to sell it to the other for a nickel" (83). If a cigar represents power, then, Quentin gives it away; the shoeshine man, who should, in Quentin's ideology, be the more powerless, turns power into a commodity which he can sell for even more power. Later, Quentin is offered a cigar by Herbert Head, Caddy's fiancé, who usurps what Quentin sees as his own role of protecting Caddy. But even if Herbert holds power over Quentin, he does not stick around; Quentin thus feels subjugated by one who never did hold any power. (It is also worth noting that Dalton Ames, the "blackguard"[111] who took Caddy's virginity in the first place, is a cigarette smoker.)

In contrast to the cigar smokers, Faulkner's pipe smokers tend to hold positions of some kind of authority, and have closer ties to the past and to tradition than do the cigarette smokers. Perhaps because of the longer time it takes to prepare and to smoke, a pipe indicates on the part of its user both a permanence and a leisure that users of the relatively

fast, portable, and disposable cigar and cigarette do not enjoy. And even though a pipe itself can be considered a symbol of femininity, with its empty bowl waiting to be filled, Faulkner's pipe smokers of both genders are masculinized, at least while the pipe is out. That is, they become the dominant participant in whatever social situation they are in, they become powerful, they become the one in charge. Others defer to them. The pipe becomes a scepter of sorts, with all the symbolism that that implies, and the one holding it rules.

There is an interesting contrast between the cigar smoker and the pipe smoker in Chapter Nineteen of *Sanctuary*. Here, Horace Benbow, a lawyer, runs into Senator Clarence Snopes on the train back to Jefferson from Oxford. Clarence is smoking a cigar — or rather, holding an unlit one; Horace is holding an unlit pipe. Clarence, a consummate politician, is described as wearing a "soiled, light-colored felt hat" and as having a "vast, soft, white neck" (172-73). He is vaguely repellant, and this impression is underscored by the porter to whom he gives one of his cigars. Horace asks the porter what he is going to do with the cigar, and the porter replies, "'I wouldn't give it to nobody I know'" (177). It seems that everyone, even the porters, knows Clarence and knowsthat he is not trustworthy, even if he thinks much of himself. Nonetheless, Horace, the pipe smoker, manages to get some information out of him without divulging anything to Clarence. In this way, he demonstrates power over the Senator — and to celebrate, after he returns to the Pullman car, Horace actually lights his pipe.

Mollie Beauchamp is another example of a powerful pipe smoker whose pipe remains unlit. Mollie is a black woman, and an old one at that: the level of power that she should wield in the racially stratified county in which she lives is low. But Mollie is able to make things happen. In the story "Go Down, Moses," Gavin Stevens goes to visit her after her grandson, Butch Beauchamp, is executed in Chicago. He finds her holding "a reed-stemmed clay pipe but she was not smoking it, the ash dead and white in the stained bowl" (*Go Down, Moses* 361). Mollie is in mourning; in fact, she is the chief mourner. It is she who leads the lamentation that conflates Roth Edmonds, the wealthy white landowner who kicked Butch out of Jefferson, with Pharaoh, and Butch with Benjamin. Though she does not smoke it, she holds the pipe, and the ashes, "dead and white" in the bowl, represent Butch's death. Butch is black, but in death he loses his race: Mollie will use her power to insist that he have a proper funeral, with flowers, and that his death notice be put in the paper just like white folks'. Mollie laments right over the usually in-control Gavin Stevens, District Attorney; she will listen to no white authority tonight:

> "Roth Edmonds sold him," the old Negress said. She swayed back and forth in the chair. "Sold my Benjamin."
> "Hush," Miss Worsham said. "Hush, Mollie. Hush now."
> "No," Stevens said. "No he didn't, Aunt Mollie. It wasn't Mr.

> Edmonds. Mr. Edmonds didn't — " *But she can't hear me,* he thought. She was not even looking at him. She never had looked at him.
> "Sold my Benjamin," she said. "Sold him in Egypt."
> "Sold him in Egypt," Worsham said.
> "Roth Edmonds sold my Benjamin."
> "Sold him to Pharaoh."
> "Sold him to Pharaoh and now he dead."
>
> (362)

Gavin, the white law in Yoknapatawpha, is so disconcerted by Mollie's refusal to acknowledge him — a form of power — that he can't catch his breath and has to leave, "almost running" (362). Mollie's pipe is a symbol, then, of her power, her permanence, her tie to the community which is too strong for the likes of Roth Edmonds to banish. She requires that the white authority in town — Gavin the District Attorney, and the white editor of the newspaper — treat her and her "slain wolf"(364) of a grandson with the utmost respect. As Thadious Davis puts it in *Games of Property*, "Mollie . . . refuses shame" (234). It is in this refusal that her power lies, or rather manifests itself. This is not to say that she is "shameless," because that word implies that someone in a more dominant position than she thinks she ought to be ashamed. Rather, she *refuses* shame; she rewrites the rules of social interaction. And she does it with a pipe in her hand.

So there appears to be a correlation, in Yoknapatawpha, between a smoker's level of power and the device he or she uses to consume tobacco. The people in power are the ones who are not in trouble; they smoke pipes. They are above shame, above *feeling* trouble. The cigar smokers, on the other hand, may not be in trouble, but neither do they hold any real power. They do not take responsibility for any trouble that is going on around them. They may wish for power, but ultimately they do not hold it. The cigarette smokers, finally, seem to wallow in trouble. They are doomed; for whatever reason they know that justice will not be theirs — or if it is, they will not find themselves on the happy end of it.

What all of Faulkner's smokers have in common, however, is that they surround themselves with smoke, a most immaterial of material substances. Each of them uses smoke to obfuscate others' perceptions of them, or their own perceptions of themselves. What is important here is not only *that* these characters smoke, but *when* they do, and why. Thus, for example, the chameleon Gavin Stevens, the Heidelberg Ph.D. who even *chews* tobacco as he squats with the farmers at the general store, finds smoke useful to modify his image in the eyes of those around him; Noel Polk has pointed out that Gavin's use of a corncob pipe in *Intruder in the Dust* positions him as one who is "largely blowing smoke"(222), that is, more interested in his own words than in action. And Temple Drake surrounds herself not only with smoke, but with mirrors as well.

Faulkner provides his own ideas about smoking and about the uses to which it can be put in the story "Smoke," from *Knight's Gambit*. In this story, Gavin "blows smoke" literally, into a brass box, in order to catch a criminal. "Smoke" centers around the murder of Judge Dukinfield, who was shot between the eyes in the process of validating the will of Anse Holland. Anse's sons, Young Anse and Virginius, are suspected, but Gavin argues that the murderer was actually a hit man from Memphis hired by Anse's cousin-in-law, Granby Dodge. Gavin proves his case by threatening to open a brass box that the judge had kept on his desk. In this box, Gavin claims, was the smoke made by the cigarette that the hit man had been smoking when he came into the office. Further, Gavin claims, this smoke can be analyzed to show that it came from a particular brand of cigarette, a brand that no one else in Jefferson smokes. And that hit man, having been picked up by the police on his way back to Memphis, has already fingered Granby. And so it comes to pass that Granby, panicking, knocks the box out of Gavin's hand and frantically waves away the smoke — and in the process, incriminates himself.

And then comes the kicker: In the box was indeed smoke, but it was smoke that Gavin himself had blown into it just before the proceedings. And what kind of smoke was it? It was pipe smoke.

In "Smoke," the story in which Gavin appears for the first time,[3] Faulkner uses the trope of actual smoke both to clarify and to confuse the matter at hand. Although most of Faulkner's smokers in trouble produce smoke to becloud themselves, here, Granby, in trouble but not a smoker himself, must get rid of the smoke, must literally clear the air, in order to stay out of trouble. In doing so, however, he incriminates himself, which leads to more trouble. In the Jefferson courtroom, then, smoke also operates as fumigation: Gavin literally smokes out the perpetrator. Jefferson justice, here, *depends* on smoke.

Two passages in particular work to illustrate this point. The first is Gavin's characterization of the smoker's habit:

> He [Gavin] was talking about smoking again, about how a man never really enjoys tobacco until he begins to believe that it is harmful to him, and how non-smokers miss one of the greatest pleasures in life for a man of sensibility: the knowledge that he is succumbing to a vice which can injure himself alone.
>
> (25)

Gavin believes that smoke is injurious, but only to the smoker; that in making the choice to smoke, the smoker is choosing self-destruction; and that this self-destruction itself is pleasurable. For Gavin, the pleasure does not derive from the physical sensations of smoking (holding the cigarette, cigar, or pipe; lighting the match; drawing in the smoke; feeling it settle in the lungs; satisfying a physical craving for nicotine) but rather from "knowledge," and what's more, knowledge of evil.

Under this theory, smoking is not pleasurable until that knowledge (or "belief") is attained. According to Gavin, only *knowing* that one is hurting oneself is pleasurable.

This is curious. Gavin is a lawyer, and his job is to make people pay for their injuries to one another. Inflicting injury, then, is wrong, and Gavin knows it perhaps better than anyone. In fact, it is so wrong that he is willing, here and elsewhere, to resort to tricks that straddle the borderline between ethical and unethical in order to secure a conviction. But in this passage, Gavin claims that inflicting injury is okay, even pleasurable, as long as one is injuring "[one]self alone." Injury, then, is acceptable, as long as you don't get in trouble for it. Of course, habitual smoking causes its own kind of trouble: lung cancer, emphysema, heart disease, etc. So it is curious that Gavin would consider a self-inflicted injury not only morally acceptable, but even pleasurable. Gavin thus turns trouble into pleasure.

The second passage comes toward the end of the story, after Granby has incriminated himself, and Gavin and Virginius are discussing the case. Virginius says in a voice

> quite grave, quite sober, "When a man starts doing wrong, it's not what he does; it's what he leaves."
> "But it's what he does that people will have to hurt him for, the outsiders. Because the folks that'll be hurt by what he leaves won't hurt him. So it's a good thing for the rest of us that what he does takes him out of their hands. I have taken him out of your hands now, Virge, blood or no blood. Do you understand?" (35)

In this passage, Gavin is making sure that Virginius understands that justice has been accomplished and that he should not, out of some sense of familial honor, go after Granby himself. Justice has been accomplished through Gavin's use of smoke. But Gavin's reply to Virginius is, again, curious. He states that "what he does takes him out of their hands," and then follows that immediately with "I have taken him out of your hands." The phrasing here equates "I" — Gavin — with "what he [the man who does wrong] does." It is likely that Gavin here is speaking as a representative of law and conflating "what he does" with the process of law that must ensue from that crime. In other words, for Gavin, the act of doing wrong is so inextricably connected to the process of law that would punish that act that the line between them is blurred. Pronouns no longer matter, and neither do the niceties of due process.

In that conflation, Gavin is also foreshadowing his own illegal act of manufacturing evidence. The smoke in the box, as Gavin points out four paragraphs later, is not the actual evidence present from the actual crime, but smoke produced later for the purpose of inciting the criminal to incriminate himself: "I waited as long as I could before I put the smoke in there. Just before you all came into the room, I filled that box

full of pipe smoke and shut it up. But I didn't know. I was a lot scareder than Granby Dodge. But it was all right. That smoke stayed in that box almost an hour" (36). Gavin's smoking (that is, into the box) does in fact injure someone besides "himself alone," but the injury is in the name of justice. And for Gavin, who admits his act "quickly, brightly, cheerfully, almost happily, almost beaming" (36), that is quite all right. The pipe-smoking Gavin, here, is not only above shame, he is behaving almost as if he is above the law.

So it is not by accident that the smoke that Gavin has blown into the box is pipe smoke. Across all the stories in which he appears, Gavin is shown using tobacco in all its forms: pipe, cigar, cigarette, even "chaw," depending on who he is with and what he intends to accomplish. The hit man who actually shoots Judge Dukinfield smokes cigarettes exclusively, however (and he is a typical Faulknerian cigarette smoker: "a smallish man in city clothes . . . with a face like a shaved wax doll, and eyes with a still way of looking and a voice with a still way of talking . . . the man was full of dope right then . . . he was sweating, too, like he wanted to vomit" [27]). It is fitting, then, that such a career criminal should be smoked out, so to speak. But Gavin's brand of justice turns not on cigarette smoke, which is associated with low-lifes and the dregs of society, but rather on *pipe* smoke, which is associated with the upper echelon, with power. Justice, then, rolls *down* the class structure.

In this story, nothing is as it seems: immaterial smoke becomes material evidence; the cigarette smoker who actually committed murder is only hired to do so; the "evidence" is pipe smoke masquerading as cigarette smoke, and even this "evidence" is manufactured. Faulkner's implied comment is that the system of justice in place in Yoknapatawpha is smoky: material yet intangible, subject to dissipation, present and absent at once. In such a system, then, it stands to reason that the players — defendants, advocates, and judges alike — would discover that the kind of justice they will encounter varies according to the kind of smoke they are blowing. In Yoknapatawpha, then, from cigarette to cigar to pipe, from trouble to power, justice goes up in smoke.

Notes

1. Cigarette sales hit a peak of 636.5 billion sold in 1981. Since then, the rate of cigarette sales dropped to 510.9 billion in 1991, and even lower to 398.3 billion in 2001 (FTC 9).
2. Old Bayard, interestingly, is a relatively recent convert to cigars from pipes. He still keeps "a dusty assortment of pipes and three or four jars of tobacco which furnished solace for all the banking force and for a respectable portion of the bank's pipe-smoking clientele" (83). There is no indication that he himself takes a pipe anymore, however: if he did, the pipes would not be quite so "dusty."
3. Although *Knight's Gambit* was not published until 1939, Faulkner wrote "Smoke" in 1930.

Works Cited

Blotner, Joseph. *Faulkner: A Biography*. One-volume edition. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Davis, Thadious. *Games of Property: Law, Race, Gender, and Faulkner's* Go Down, Moses. Durham, NC: Duke U P, 2003.

Faulkner, William. *Flags in the Dust*. 1929. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.

—. *Go Down, Moses*. 1942. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

—. *Light in August*. 1932. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

—. "Smoke." *Knight's Gambit*. 1939. New York: Vintage Books, 1978. 3-36.

—. *Sanctuary*. 1931. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

—. *The Sound and the Fury*. 1929. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.

Federal Trade Commission (FTC). "Cigarette Report for 2001." Washington, DC: 2003. 2 July 2004. <http://www.ftc.gov/os/2003/06/2001cigreport.pdf.

Nicolaides-Bouman, Ans, Nicholas Wald, Barbara Forey, and Peter Lee. *International Smoking Statistics: A Collection of Historical Data from 22 Economically Developed Countries*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Polk, Noel. *Children of the Dark House: Text and Context in Faulkner*. Jackson: U P of Mississippi, 1996.